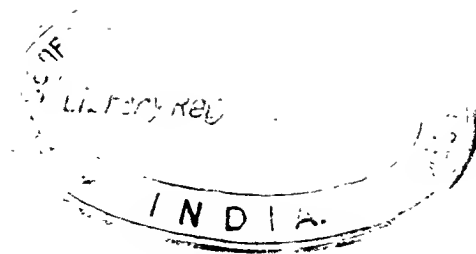


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VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume II, 1932

VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

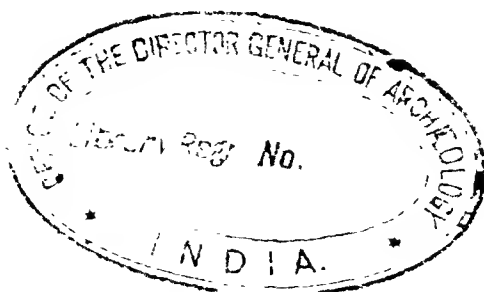
MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE
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1932



VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda

BY

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PREFACE

This second volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and to the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr. Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute; that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV., the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in:

pra vācam (9. 35. 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV. 9. 12. 6a, 35. 4a, 'Soma sends forth speech (substance).' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep.* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*:

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA., 'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittiriya the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra + añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV.). The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcaḥ* is negligible; TA. must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist; they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus:

ud usriyāḥ sṛjate (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB.,

‘The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together.’ (The TB. comm. seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: *utsacata udgatatvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthaḥ*.) The TB. reading is inappropriate; but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB. understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB. reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate* . . . *sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB., Introduction, xv ff., and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking: If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ (SV. *durhṛṇ°*) RV. SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV. ‘corrects’ by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛṇ°*. This does not mean that the SV. knows more Sanskrit than the RV.; the RV. itself knows the stem *durhṛṇ-* (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant:

etām samkṛṣya (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *samkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics. Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grabh* and *grah*.

§7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon).

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant. Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taittiriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *ḍ* and *l*, or *ḍh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

ś and s; a much smaller number between ś and ṣ; and a very small number between s and ṣ. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between s and h occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

§10. Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants: first of nasals and *anusvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel. Then of y, very numerous but mostly morphological (e.g. words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal y). But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning y between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and y after palatals, or after two consonants. Presence or absence of r does not display much interest, but that of v includes some cases of v initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel. Cases of presence or absence of h and s mostly concern initial s before stops, and initial h before vowels (a sort of psilosis); those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final.

§11. The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups.

§12. The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels. Most important and numerous are those between a and ā, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final a. Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon; our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself. The variants between i and ī and between u and ū are in general parallel to those between a and ā, but much less numerous. The numerous shifts in quality between a, i, and u vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character. On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and a, i, or u vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest; most numerous are those between r and a. The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the vriddhi of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences.

§13. The variations between r and ar or ār, more rarely r and ir(īr) or ur(ūr), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of 'samprasaṛaṇa' show that the variations of va(vā) with u vowels, of ya(yā) with i vowels, and of ra(rā) with r are mainly morphological or lexical; on the other hand variations of ri(rī)

and *ru(rū)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*.

§14. Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*).

§15. Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis: of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplology and dittology.

§16. Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson.

§17. A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.

§18. Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind; they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.

§19. The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section.

PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

§20. We have at this point refrained from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands. There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis. We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects. (Cf. especially Wackernagel I, p. XVIII, with references there quoted; and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff.) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The principle, to be sure, is not new. But it has never before been illustrated so extensively; and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting. Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology. We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects.

§21. Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between surds and sonants, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants. (See Chapter II, especially §§47-9, 53, 59, 66, 69.) Thus:

pikah (KSA. *piḡah*) *kṣviṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te 'ryamṇe* (KSA. *'ryamṇah*) TS.

KSA. No form but *pika* is known outside of this KSA. passage.

citrā etagvā (TB. *edagvā*) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. A pure Prakritism in TB.; the comm. does not explain the form. Cf. the next, in which MS. seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this.

dīśāṁ devy (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS. MS. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on *tevy*; if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laetic (nursery) word for 'mother'. But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf. *māṛk* (for *māṛk*) TA. 1. 5. 1, and §66.

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

§22. The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7):

mā naḥ kaścīt prakhān (ApŚ. *praghān*) . . . KS. ApŚ.

svāyān tanū (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūn*) *rtviye* (RV.† *rtvye*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB. *nātha*°, MG. *bādha*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

§23. Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV. dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff.:

asamḥeyam [perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*?] *parābhavan* JB.: *asambhavyam* *parā*° AV. See §121.

grdhraḥ śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. *vārhiṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. So the single ms. of KSA.; v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°; the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122.

kakubham (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣa*°) *rocate* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective *kakuhā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV., where *kakubha* is not known. See §120.

§24. Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG.:

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. °*rīyo jyotatām*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ava jyām iva dhanvanah AV. Vait. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvīnah* HG.

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163: *avatasya* (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avaṭa*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore.

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps* (§§183-6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following:

achalābhīh (KSA. *acharā°*, MS. *atsarā°* in p.p., in s.p. *matsarā°*, VS. *rkṣalā°*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. The same word appears as *ṛcharā* in AV. 10. 9. 23. Either MS. or VS. (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations.

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *kṣ* (§§190-1). Tho the Tait. form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ. has a corruption of it:

idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ (ŚŚ. *prakhyā°*) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§28. There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b. In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival:

saujāmim (ŚG. *sauyāmim*; with both sc. *tarpayāmi*) AG. ŚG.—Cf. AV. 19. 34. 2a, *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* (mss., wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā grtsyas*; see Whitney's note to Transl., and our §192.

§29. The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf. Wackernagel I p. 197; it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5). That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not; cf. Wackernagel I p. 183f.:

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañcasva*) *prthivi mā ni bādhatāḥ* (TA. *vi bādhithāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

yatra bāṇāḥ (VS. *vāṇāḥ*) *saṃpatanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG. Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV. in this word; it is not known which is original.

§30. The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf. Wackernagel I p. 225f.). A few examples out of many may be quoted here; for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9:

vi srutayo (AŚ. *visrutayo*, ŚŚ. *viśru°*) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR. even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow'!). Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary. The contrary is the case in the next:

śukeṣu me (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

§31. Much less numerous are the variations between *ś* and *ṣ*; yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90):

nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS. *arṣat*) VS. VSK. ĪśāU. The proper form is *arṣat*; VS. comm. *ṛṣa gatāu*.

§32. There are very few variations between *s* and *ś* (§294):

ye vrkṣeṣu (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *saspi*^o) VS. TS. MS. KS.

Thought of the word *sasya* doubtless influenced TS., and cf. *śaṣpa* for the other form (a kind of haplogy in each case); see §278.

§33. The later confusion between *kh* and *ś* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; cf. Wackernagel I p. 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):

kaṣotkāya svāhā TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU.

§34. There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character; see §296 below.

§35. Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *sīha* for *siṇha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf. §300):

pūṣṇe 'ñghṛṇaye svāhā TA.: *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em.; mss. *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ. *āghṛṇi* is regular.

§36. Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338-44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.): *vaiśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

PB. ŚB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS. shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*.

§37. In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pāli* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations:

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.

ŚB. TB. (See §396.) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to.

§38. There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants; this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid:

abhinne khilye (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV. AV. TB. This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant; TB. can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khilye* (comm. *khilībhūte*).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629–45). The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations:

ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ (SV. *durhṛṇ°*) RV. SV. The SV. restores Sanskrit vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV.

tejo yaśasvi sthaviraṃ samiddham (ŚG. *saṃṛddham*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. Here ŚG. alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v. l. *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?).

purāṃdaro gotrabhid (MS. *°bhr̥d*, TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A hyper-Sanskritism in MS; see §636.

tvaṣṭrmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

saṃvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ (KS. *°bhiḥ cākḷpānaḥ*, ApŚ. *°bhiḥ cāku-pānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides *tvaṣṭrmantas* (*tvaṣṭri°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666–84:

tr̥ṣucyavaso (MS. *triṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS. The adverb *tr̥ṣu* is the only possible form here; the variant of MS. is purely phonetic. *bhr̥mim̐* (TB. *bhrumim̐*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. The mss. of TB. seem to be unanimous on *bhrumim̐*, an otherwise unknown form.

pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ VS. MS.: *aśrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *pr̥ṣ°*) TS. KSA. The form *pr̥ṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait. texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*.

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703–12, 728–32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

avārāya kevar̥tam VS.: *pār̥yāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*. *sukur̥irā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukar̥irā svopaśā* MS. Several mss. of MS. and its p.p. read *svaupaśā*.

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744–9, e.g.:

namaḥ kiṅśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.
kṣeṇa is otherwise unknown.

to-to (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751–65):

tan naḥ parṣad (MS. *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS. Cf. Wackernagel
 I p. 57.

CHAPTER II. SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44. These are treated in the following order: *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh*. (For *g* and *kh* see §82; *t* and *dh*, §97f.; *p* and *bh*, §§112–14.) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change. They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless. It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original.

k and *g*

§45. We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense. In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate; both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools:

athāham anukāminī (MŚ. °*gāminī*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV. 1. 34. 5cd, *yathā māñ kāmīny aso yathā man nāpagā asaḥ*. Yet MŚ. (all mss.) is no doubt secondary.

gr̥ṇatā naḥ sviṣṭaye AV.: *kr̥ṇutāñ naḥ sviṣṭīm* (MS. KS. °*ṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing for us unto well-being'; 'make well being for us.' The meter of AV. is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54; Keith, *HOS* 18. clxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be. The word *gr̥ṇatā* is preceded by *gr̥ṇata* (other forms of *gr̥ṇ*° in the other Saṁhitās); this suggests that *gr̥ṇatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnāñ (MS. °*hnā*) *cikītnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikītvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *cikītnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS. ('swift') are both reasonable. See RV. 7. 65. 1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuṇa (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2. 50).

namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ MS. KS.: *namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaś* . . . VS. TS. See §185.

tato na vicikitsati (VSK. ĪśāU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ĪśāU.: *na tato vijugupsate* KU.: *na tadā vicikitsati* ŚB. BṛhU. 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away.' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate. The Kāṇva recension of BṛhU. has *jugupsate*. Cf. AV. 13. 2. 15b.

dhipsyam vā saṁcakara janebhyaḥ MS.: *yad vādāsyam saṁjagārā jan-ebhyaḥ* TB.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. Cf. *dāsyann adāsyann uta saṁ grṇāmi* (TA. and AVPPP. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta saṁ grṇāmi* AV. In all these passages *saṁ-gr* seems to mean 'devour, eat', tho doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV. 6. 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1). If 'devour' is right, *saṁ-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning.

§46. We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it. Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*:

ukhām (ApŚ. *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless.' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading; see VV I p. 211.

urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran AV.: *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. The original RV., 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

vadhūr jajāna (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. ŚG. See Whitney on AV. 3. 10. 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagat*; the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

imam logam (TA. *lokaṁ*) *nidadhan mo aham riṣam* RV. AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA. *lokaṁ* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here. The comm. in fact interprets it as *loṣṭam* (= *logam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛśyata iti loko loṣṭaḥ*!). Some mss. and the comm. of AV. read like TA., however.

pary āgāram (AŚ. *ākāram*) *punaḥ-punaḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Only *āgāram* makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form.' The preceding (in AV., preceding but one) *pāda* is *yadi* (*yadīm*, *lelīm*) *hanat katham hanat*.

indrāpāsya phaligam ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephām alīkam* . . . HG. The correct reading is certainly *phaligam*.

mano jagāma dūrakam (PB. *dūragāḥ*) RV. PB. The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*; *dūragāḥ* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next *pāda*, *tan ma āvartayā punaḥ*. This, according to the PB. comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāḥ* does not fit at all). *rājānaḥ satyam kṛṇvānāḥ* (AV. *grṇvānāḥ*, but Ppp. *kṛṇvāno*) RV. AV. Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better.

tasya rathagrtsaś (MS. *°kṛtsnaś*, KS. *°kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānī-grāmaṇyau* (TS. *senānī°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The word *ratha°* is a proper name, 'chariot-clever'; *°kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to *°kṛtsna*, which does not fit.

abhūr grṣṭinām (AV. **v āpīnām* mss., R-Wh. *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *āpīnām*; HG. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG. ApMB. *°pāvā*) AV. (bis) HG. ApMB.: *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr°*, but Ppp. *kr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. *°pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5; Roth, ZDMG 48. 110. The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyaṇa's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

prāṇān saṁkrośaiḥ MS.: *saṁkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. *°krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṁghoṣān* (ms. *°goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA. (ś for ś, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant.

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation. At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion. The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools:

nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait.: *nikīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ.: *nigīrya tubhyam madhvaḥ* MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ. The passages are unintelligible; *kir*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *nī*, which points, perhaps, to *nigīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvaḥ* in MŚ.).

tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi AV.: *tena sann anugrhñāsi* HG. The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG. mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386.

arepasah sacetasah (etc.) *svasare manyumattamāś* (SV. ApŚ. °*mantaś*) *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. *cidākoḥ*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cidāku*, is corrupt. *śakma yat te goḥ* MS. KS.: *sagme* (TS. *samyat*) *te goḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS., perhaps correctly and originally. In VS. ŚB. *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma*. But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf. however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*). It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam*. VS. comm., followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goḥ gauḥ* (very simple!). BR. read in TS. *saṁpātte* with one ms. (p.p. *samyāt*, *te*), but the comm., followed by Weber, ISt. 13. 107, takes *samyāt* as = *samyak*. So also Keith ('to match thy cow'). BR. regard *saṁpātte* as = *sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render: 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst'. They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*.

rudra yat te krayī (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible. The reading *giri-* is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat.

idam ahaṁ sarpāṇāṁ dandaśūkānām grīvā upa grathnāmi (MŚ. mss. *kṛtsnāmi*; Knauer conjectures *kṛṇatmi*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents.' But *kṛtsnāmi* is not *kṛṇatmi*, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS. Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumāṇ enaṁ* etc., §48.

Cf. also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśiḥ* etc., §192.

§48. In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

invakā (MS. °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This name for the constellation Mr̥gaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5. 1. 1). The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga*, *gā*.

sā prasūr (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. HG. ApMB. *dhenukā* is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milch cow'. In *dhenugā* there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow', but the form is essentially Prakritic.

āśuḥ kāṣṭhām ivāśaran (read °*ram* with comm., Ppp., Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV. 2. 14. 5b. All mss. *gāṣṭhām*; *kā*° is emendation. Ppp. also (ms.) *gā*° (em. Barret, JAOS 30. 193, *kā*°); comm. *glāṣṭhām*. *pikaḥ* (KSA. *piḡaḥ*) *kṣvīṅkā nīlaśīrṣṇī te* 'ryamṇe (KSA. °*mṇaḥ*) TS. KSA. The word is always *pika*, except here.

srkāhastā (TS. KS. *srkāvantō*, MS. *srḡavanto*, one n.s. *srka*°) *niṣaṅgiṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. The stem concerned is always *srka* 'spear', except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings.

namaḥ srkāyibhyo (TS. *srkāyibhyo*, MS. *srḡayibhyo*) *jighāṇsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. See preceding.

vīṇāgaṇakīno (ŚB. °*gino*) *devair imāṇ yajamānaṁ saṁgāyata* ŚB. ApŚ. Also: *vīṇāgaṇakīnaḥ pūrvaiḥ saha sukrīdbhī rājabhir imāṇ yajamānaṁ saṁgāyata* ApŚ.: *vīṇāgaṇakīnaḥ purāṇair imāṇ yajamānaṁ rājabhiḥ sādhuḥkrīdbhī saṁgāyata* ŚB. Cf. further KŚ. 20. 3. 2. Altho the compound *vīṇā*° does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it seems that it must contain *-gaṇaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm. on ŚB. and KŚ., both of which implausibly understand *vīṇā-gaṇa* as meaning 'a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes'); cf. Conc. under *gāyatam* . . .

puṇjikasthalā (KS.† *puṇjiga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This name of an Apsaras appears in later literature, always with *k*.

pumān enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti RV.: *pumān enad vayat y ud grṇatti* AV. See Whitney's note on AV. 10. 7. 43. *grṇatti* is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie', which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *idam ahaṁ* etc.

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*; the words are almost or quite ἀπαξ λεγόμενα:

vīryaṁ kuḥābhyām (KSA. *gu*°) TS. KSA. A part of the horse's body. For *ku*° the TS. comm. says, *hastayor madhyasaṁdhī* (cf. *viṣu-kuḥ*). The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is recorded lexically.

pratikramaṇaṁ kuṣṭhābhyām (KS. *gu*°) TS. KSA.: *ākramaṇaṁ ku*° MS.

Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body. Bhāskara, *hastāparārdhamāṇi*; Keith, 'the two centres of the loins'. Cf. *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc.

agne kahya MS. KS. MŚ.: (*agne*) *gahya* TS. Neither in lexs., and neither interpretable. Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking of *gāhya*).

salilāḥ saligāḥ sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā MS. KS.: *lekāḥ salekāḥ sulekas te na ādityā ājyaṁ juṣāṇā viyantu* TS. ApŚ. All isolated and uninterpretable.

grāmyamañkīradāsakau ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ mañgīradāsakau* MŚ.: *vyāghraṁ mañgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. In Vait. read *mañgīradāsagau*, or possibly with Caland, °*dāsakau*. Two proper names, Mañgīra or Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dāś°), are involved.

namo vaḥ kirikebhyo (MS. MŚ. *namo gīrikebhyo*) *devānāṁ hrdayebhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho *gīrika*, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like *gīriśa* etc. The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic.

uruka urukasya (ApŚ. *uruga urugasya*) *te vācā vyaṁ saṁ bhaktena gamemahi* (MS. °*mahy agne grhapate*) MS. ApŚ. Neither form is in the lexs.; *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland). Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?

vi te bhinadmi takarīm (KS. °*rim*, AVPpp. [Roth] *tagarim*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. There is no evidence as to the meaning of *takarī* (°*ri*, *tag*°) except the context and the variant *mehanam*; and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

c and j

§50. Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202). This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants. Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text. We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa. But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*).

§51. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV. itself:

pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati RV. (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior; see *RVRep.* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original:

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK.: *vācaspatir vācam* (VS.* † 9.1, ŚB.* † 5. 1. 1. 16 *vājam*) *naḥ svadatu* VS. KS. ŚB. SMB.: *vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti* (MS. °tu) *naḥ* (TB. *te*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

pavitravantaḥ pari vācam (TA. *vājam*) *āsate* RV. TA. N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

premaṁ vājam vājasāte avantu AV.: *premāṁ vācam viśvām avantu viśve* TS. MS. KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads: *marutāṁ manve adhi no* (AV. *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV. 3. 14. 1, 5. 29, 3, 10. 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV. is a banal recast.

vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam VS. ŚB.: *vājam asmin ni dhehi devāyuvam* MS.: *tapojām vācam asme ni yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS. a specious lectio facillior; *tapojām* in TA., as well as the *vip-rāṇām devayā vācas* of RV. 5. 76. 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52. In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word:

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ. *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ.: *sā saṁnaddhā sanuḥi vājam emam* (MG. *sunuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV. † MG. 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this)), or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ. *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātā yoktreṇa patnīm saṁnahyati*); *vācam* is simple but secondary.

indram vājam vi mucyadhvam TS. KS. TB.: *indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam* MS. MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ājījapata*; cf. *ājījapatendram vājam* VS. ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required; *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf. *vājajic* . . . and *vāja-jītyāyai* . . . in Conc.

asredhanta itana vājam acha RV.: *adroghāvitā vācam acha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3. 14. 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible; see Whitney's note. The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV. is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *ojasā*;

sam eta viśvā (AV. † *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patiṁ divaḥ* AV. SV.—Ppp. evidently means to read *ojasā*; its text, as quoted by Roth, has *viśvā oham ā*. This supports SV., tho the otherwise corrupt Śauna-kiya text makes as good sense as its rivals: 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however, above under *vācam asme* . . . §51.

§53. There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym: 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV. 1. 95. 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate simasmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2. 189. to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*:

avīraghnīr ud ajantv (ApMB. *acantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. ApMB. 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. *vyukṣat krūrām ud acantv āpaḥ* ApMB. 1. 1. 7. Weber, *Ind. St.* 5. 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 39 go the length of emending *ajantv* to *acantv*, which is doubtful practice (cf. §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantv*, despite RV. 1. 95. 7 above.

samudrād udajani raḥ (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. Here MS. is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary; it seems that they divide the honors of originality:

caniṣṭhad (SV. *ja°*) *agne aṅgiraḥ* RV. SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 74. 11); less with *janiṣṭhad*; tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

sāvitro 'si canodhāḥ (MS. *janadhāyāḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB. Cf. *tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ* (PB. °*yaḥ*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher).' The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

§55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible:

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA. See §2. *devebhyas tvā devāyuvam* (KS. *devāvyam*) *prñacmi* (so MS. by emendation, mss. mostly *prñaymi*! ApŚ. *prñajmi*) *yajñasyāyuse* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *prñajmi* (all mss. of ApŚ.) is supported by Dhātup. and by *anavaprgṇa* RV. 1. 152. 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p. 117 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *prc*. See however Scheftelowitz, *IF*. 33. 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* 1. 33 (root **parzg*). But the matter is uncertain; the forms with *g, j* may be based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain forms (e.g., *bhanakti: bhagna: bhanaajmi* = *prñakti: prgṇa: prñajmi*). —In this connexion also:

upa mā jakṣur (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ. 13. 2. 19, where *jakṣur* is either misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *caḁṣur*.

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the reduplication of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns; see §45.

mītrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. °*hnā*) *cikītnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikītvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

tato na vicikītsati (*viḁjugupsate*), etc.

dhīpsyam vā saṁcakara janebhyah, etc.

§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous:

somaḁ sutah pūyate ajyamānah (SV. *suta rcyate pūyamānah*) RV. SV.

Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV. by *rc*, 'praise'; a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency.

tve kratum api vrñjanti viśve (AV. **prñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. (both) SV.

TS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind.' The combination *api aprāk* once more AV. 10. 4. 26, and nowhere else. For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOŚ*. 35. 281.

agne vyacasva (RV. MS. *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. 'O Agni, make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth.' AV. has a contaminated lectio facillior; cf. RV. 10. 111. 2 *mahānti cit sam vivyācā rajāñsi*, and the converse, RV. 8. 12. 24, *na yam vivikto rodasī*; or 10. 112. 4, *yasya . . . mahimānam . . . ime mahī rodasī nāviviktām*.

dīvas (SV. *dīrah*) *prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV.† *rohanti tejasā*) RV. SV. With metathesis of *c(j)* and *t*.

ud usriyāḁ srjate (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḁ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

anāhanasyam vasanam cariṣṇu (ApMB. HG. *ja°*, PG. *jariṣṇuḁ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. As an epithet of a garment, *jariṣṇu* would mean possibly 'much worn' or the like; as an epithet of the subject,

aham (PG.), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG.) *ja*^o seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG. *carīṣṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend').

jāmiṇ (KS.† *camī*) *mā hiṇsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmiṇ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV.—The KS. reading (of a single ms.) should certainly be corrected to *jāmiṇ*.

gharmas triṣug vi rājati (ŚŚ. *rocate*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Hardly belongs here; *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*.

yuktās tisro vimṛjah (comm. *vibhrjah*) *sūryasya* PB.: *yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save* [or, *savaḥ*]) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. In PB. the comm. has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhrjah* 'dividers' (of the sun). But there is little more sense in *vipṛcaḥ*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to *prthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc*. It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR. take it. Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces'; Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'.

girā ca (AV. *virājah*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP.'s mss. (and his oral reciters) and the comm. *śnuṣṭiḥ* for *śru*^o. Whitney adopts *śnu*^o, which Ppp. also intends with its *sunīṣṭas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 207). See §865.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jatr̥bhya*, MS. *cakṛ̥bhya*, p.p. *vaktṛ̥bhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The original is obscure enough; but MS. is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. Note its loss of final *h* (§384).

ṭ and *ḍ*

§58. We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p. 217):

viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir ṭḍe (ApMB. *ṭṭe*) RV. ApMB.

t and *d*

§59. Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

citrā etaḡvā (TB. *eda*^o) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. The comm. on TB.

ignores the word. The etymology of *etaḡva* (*AJP.* 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.

pārāvataghnīm (TB. °*daghnīm*) *avase surṣktibhiḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. N. *pārāvataghnīm* (sc. *sarasvatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance'. TB. comm. has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *dagh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank').

sa im̐ pāhi ya rjīṣi tarutrah̐ (VaradapU. *tarudrah̐*) RV. AB. GB. TB. NṛpU. VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah̐*, as if 'tree-cleaving'.

ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam (MŚ. *sūdam!*) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by:

ima udvāsikāriṇa (MŚ. *imā uddhāsicāriṇa!*) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ. °*dam*) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

agotām anapatyatām (vulgate with most mss. *anapadyatām*) AV. 4. 17. 6b. Some mss. and the comm. read *anapatyatām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām*. Cf. RV. 3. 54. 18 *yuyota no anapatyāni . . . paśumāṇ astu gātuḥ*.

yadā rākhātyau vadataḥ ApŚ.: *yadā rāghaṭi varadaḥ* Vait.: *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §§70, 272a. Vait. is thoroly Prakritic.

§60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*: *vayam̐ hi vām̐ purutamāso* (AV. °*dam*°) *āsvinā* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *āsvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV. 7. 73. 1 (*purudaṇsā purutamā*) ? Roth, *ZDMG.* 48. 107, and Whitney on AV. 7. 73. 1, consider the AV. form, 'having many houses', corrupt.

mā me hārdi twiṣā (MŚ. *hārdim̐ dviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ. A replica of RV. 8. 79. Sc *mā no hārdi* etc.; *dviṣā* is lect. fac.

sato vaḥ pitaro deṣma VS.: *sado* etc. ApŚ. SMB. GG. In VS. 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you.' The others with lect. fac., 'a seat, O Fathers' etc.; this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *grha* in the preceding pāda: *grhān naḥ pitaro datta*. Cf. the next.

mukham̐ sad asya śira it satena (TB. *sadena*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MŚ. p.p. and VS. comm.); TB. comm. apparently reads *sam asya*. VS. comm. takes *satena* from a stem

sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasaḥ'. TB. *sadena*, taken by its comm. to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya*. Cf. prec.

śivā rutasya (VSK. *śiva rtasya*, TS. and v.l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

gāva upāvatāvataṁ (SV. *upa vadāvaṁ*) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of *upa-vad*; in the others, of *upa-av*. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvaḥ*.

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV. *udāsaran*) RV. SV. In SV. a form of *ud-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *uta+āsan*.

ya ātrṇaty (ViDh. *āvrṇoty*, SaṁhitopB. *ātrṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avidathena*) *karṇau* SaṁhitopB. VāDh. ViDh. N. *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage. The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.

yathāpaḥ pravatā yanti TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. The latter is secondary; Jörgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen'. In his note he suggests *pratipadaḥ*, which is not enticing in view of the variant.

agne tām vettha yadi te jātavedaḥ HG. ApMB.: *tvām vettha yati te jātavedaḥ* RV. VS. *yadi*, 'if', is lect. fac.

ā vatso jagatā (AG. *jāyatām*, PG. *jagadaiḥ*) *saha* AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *jagadaiḥ* (comm. 'guards', *anugai rakṣakaiḥ*) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:

īśānam jagadaiḥ saha PG.: *īśāno jagatas patiḥ* AV. TS. KS. ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG. comm. *jagadaiḥ*, *anucaraiḥ*. Cf. prec.

hitvā na ūrjāṁ pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ (AV. *prapadāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying.' AV., doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).

vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ. mss. °dā; one, *dhṛṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The corruption of MŚ. mss. is due to thought of *dhṛṣad*, 'mill-stone'. RV. 8. 49 (Vāl. 1). 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense. But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. *avarti* 'distress' seems likely to be original.

ā sutrāvne (MS. KS. *bhūyīṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvrñānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.:
oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ grñānāḥ TS. See §355.

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older; they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older.

§61. In the next group we find different division of the words; but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf. §65):

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB.

Either reading is interpretable; in VS. TB. *madhu*^o goes with *pathā*, in MS. with the object of *ābharan*. We judge that the former is probably original; cf. RV. 10. 24. 6 *madhuman me parāyaṇaṁ madhumat punar āyanam*.

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*) AG. ApMB.

MG.: *yena bhūriś carā divam* PG. The original form is that of ApMB. MG., of which AG. is a corruption. PG. changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p. 235); this is connected with the further change that introduces *divam*.

tvaṁ no devatātaye (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV.—Ppp. reads *devatātaye*, indicating that AV. (Ś.) is secondary. It makes, however, a sort of crude sense: 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving.'

arepasah sacetasah . . . cite goḥ (*citā goḥ, cidākoḥ*), see §47. Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*).

jīvann eva prati tat te (so Jörgensen for SMB.; v. l. *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīvann eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ.

The latter is corrupt.

§62. The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables:

ahā neta (GB. *netar a-*, ŚŚ. *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ.:

ahā ned asann apurogavāni (so divide) JB.—This is followed by:

yajñā (JB. Caland, *yajñā*) *netā sann apurogavāsah* (JB. Caland, *avice-*

tanāsah) AV. AB. GB. JB.: *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ.

Gaastra reads GB. as: *yajñā netar asann apuro*^o; and so in the prec., read in GB. *netar asann*. Weber, *Ind. St.* 9. 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV. etc. The true form of the two pādas is: *ahā ned asann avī*^o, *yajñā ned asann apuro*^o, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader.' So

Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV. and ŚŚ. are hopeless; but GB. (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense.

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB.), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older:

pari doṣād udarpithaḥ KŚ.: *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. Preceded in KŚ. by *yo me 'dya payaso rasaḥ*; in ApŚ. by *yan me 'tra payasaḥ*. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*; sc. my] fault') from KŚ., and reads *udarpithaḥ*. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ. to accord with it; *parītoṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ. intended.

godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardaḥ (TB. *atardat*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The antique and rare *adardaḥ* (3d sing. imperf. intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB. sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) 'si (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS. MŚ. The latter is simply a lect. fac.

sapta rājāno ya udābhiṣiktāḥ KS. AA.: *anu sapta rājāno ya utābhiṣiktāḥ* TB. The TB. stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*.

yāś ca (AV. *yā*) *devīr* (SMB. *devyo*, PG. *devīs*) *antān* (AV. *antān*, PG. *tantūn*) *abhito* 'dadanta (PG. SMB. *tatantha*) AV. PG. SMB. ApMB.: *yāś ca gnā devyo* 'ntān *abhito* 'tatananta (so em.; mss. *tatantha*) MG. The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrosously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi). Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for 'dadanta. In PG., however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha*. The comm. on PG. (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf. VV I p. 139f.

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yas-minn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS. Of course RV. is original; but *vitataḥ* is found also in the AV. version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*.

vidad yadī (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā ruṇam* (MS.† *saramā-ruṇam*) *adreh* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original *yadī* (*yadi*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem. pple. *yatī* (TB. comm.

gachantī) suggested by the final *ī* of *yadī*, and supported by RV. 5. 45. 7 *yatī saramā*. Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler; cf. RV. 10. 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3. 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ. unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*.

yad vo devā atipādayāni (AŚ. °*tayāni*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *ati-pad* and *ati-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress'. TB. comm.: *akaraṇam anyathā-karaṇaṁ cātipattiḥ*. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other).

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK. *ati dyutat*) *savīmani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p. 128.

śvetāya vaidārvāya (PG. °*darryāya*, ApMB. HG. °*darrvāya*, MG. *vaitahavyāya*) . . . AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The epithet *vaitahavya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

§64. In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation. Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school:

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.† Whitney translates AV.: 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all.' Since Ppp. agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ. is secondary. But *turaś* is lexically defensible.

tvam rājāsi pradivāḥ (VS. VSK. *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. *pratīpat* is hardly intelligible; Mahidhara takes *prātīpat sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'

hariṇasya raghuṣyadaḥ (ApŚ. °*syataḥ*, two mss. °*syadaḥ*) AV. ApŚ. Caland adopts the AV. reading; if ApŚ. really intended °*taḥ*, it simulates a pres. pple. form from a denominative **raghuṣya-*.

agne (Poona ed. *agre*, but comm. *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v. l. °*yan*; not in Poona ed.) TB.: *agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV. Comm. on TB., groggily: *pratīdayat*, *pratyekam eva prāptam āsīt* (as if *prati*, *id*, *ayat*!).

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):

satyū tā dharmāṇas patī ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmāṇas* (ŚŚ. and mss. of MŚ.

°ñā) *patī* (Vait. MŚ. *pari*; ŚŚ. omits) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. Caland in his Transl. of Vait. understands *satyādā* as one word (nom. dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ., which is surely wrong in principle. Tho secondary, ApŚ. is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. Followed by *gandharvaḥ kāmyaṃ vacaḥ*. ŚŚ. has a lect. fac. which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tat*, twice).

balim ichanto vītudasya (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. The AG. attempts to rationalize the obscure *vītudasya* (said by TAA. comm. to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a ἀπ.λεγ. which it does not understand.

§66. The remarkable case of *tevī* for *devī* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21:

diśāṃ devy (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghr̥tācī* TS. MS. AŚ.

In the pāda *mātr̥k kva cana vidyate*, TA. 1. 5. 1d, the comm. (does not read *mādr̥k*, as Conc. states, but) interprets *mātr̥k* by *mādr̥k*; which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:

pitvo (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °yāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. None of the forms *pitvo* etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

mayamdaṃ (MS. MŚ. *mayam̐taṃ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahidhara, *sukhaṃ dadāti*; Keith, 'delight-giving.' This is probably right: *mayamda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21. 50ff., Wackernagel 2. 1, pp. 204ff.

pariṣītaḥ kveṣyasi ApMB.: *pariṣīdaḥ kleṣyasi* HG.: *parimīḍhaḥ kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG., with *qh*, and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm. on ApMB. gets fairly close in general sense: *chāndasaṃ dīrghatvam, pariṣītaḥ paribaddhaḥ*.

[*suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV.: *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ. The AV. mss. read exactly as ŚŚ., except that they read *gavom* and *pra ṣudasi*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68. In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

ado (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devi*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*nā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ.: *ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.

iti cid dhi (AV. **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV. AV. (both)

grhā naḥ santu sarvadā (P.G. *sarvataḥ*) ApŚ. PG. HG.

dhātār āyantu sarvadā (TA. TU. *sarvataḥ svāhā*) TA. TU. Kauś.: *sama-vayantu sarvataḥ* SMB.

tato na (KU. *na tato*, ŚB. BṛhU. *na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK. IśāU. KU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. IśāU. KU. See §45. *tato* is certainly older.

pari krośatu sarvataḥ (HG. *sarvadā*) HG. ApMB.

p and *b*

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants:

phalgūr (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorṇī balakṣī* (VS. *pal°*, KSA. *balakṣīs*, em. by ed. to °*kṣī*) *tāḥ ṡārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. MS. *balakṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here. The change to *pal°*, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palita*; VS. comm. simply says that *pal°* means *bal°*. *avātirataṁ bṛsayasya* (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV, TB. Bṛsaya, name of a demon. TB. comm. takes its form also as the name of a demon; it is clearly a corruption of the RV. form.

khajāpo 'jopakāśīnīḥ' ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible.

pitvo (*pidvo*, *bidvo*) . . ., see §67.

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bīharti* etc.) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *pīparti* etc.); they are gathered in §112.

kh and *gh*

§70. Here again are only a few stray variants:

mā naḥ kaś cit prakhān (ApŚ. *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahi* KS. ApŚ. 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured.' Probably KS. is original; *pra-khān* BR. (Nachträge to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen'. *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*; tho problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning. Prakritic influence is likely.

saghāsi jagatīchandāḥ TS.: *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ. adds *patrā*) *jagacchandāḥ* ŚŚ. MŚ. Cf. *sakhāsi gāyatraṁ chandāḥ* MŚ. (Bloomfield, JAOS. 16.

3ff.) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect. fac.; it is clear that *saghā* (stem *saghan*, comm. 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS. ŚŚ. by *śyeno* 'si *gāyatrachandāḥ*, and *suparṇo* 'si *triṣṭupchandāḥ* (ŚŚ. inserting *patvā* both times).

yadā rāghaṭi varadaḥ (ApŚ. *rākhātyau vadataḥ*) Vait. ApŚ. *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. The form *rā°* appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BaudhŚ. 16. 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms. of ApŚ. *rākhāṇḍau*.

th and *dh*

§71. Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

§72. In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV., with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV. *dh*. Yet the AV., relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73. We begin with cases in which RV. shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*); included is also one case of RV. *viśvadhā*, SV. *viśvathā*:

vi bhānuṃ viśvadhātānat (SV. *viśvathā°*) RV. SV.

adhā jīvrī (AV. *atha jīvirir*, mss. *jīvir*; ApMB. *athā jīvrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB.

adhā (SV. *athā*) *no viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. SV.

adhā (SV. *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV. SV.

adhā (SV. *athā*) *te sumnam īmahe* RV. AV. SV. TS.

adhā (TS. MS. *athā*) *te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.

adhā (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

rudrasya maryā adhā (SV. *athā*) *svaśvāḥ* RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course

secondary; cf. the similar preference of AV. for the archaic *kṛṇo-* as against *karo-*, VV I p. 116ff.); once in SV. (*ūrdhavadhā* for RV.° *thā*), once or twice in other texts:

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhavadhā bhūt* (SV. °*dhā bhuvat*) RV. (10) SV.

athā (AV. *adhā*) *naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. (10) AV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *athāsmabhyam śaṁ* etc. TS.

athā (AV. *adhā*) *pīṭṇ suvidatrāṇ upehi* (AV. TA. *apīhi*, TS.† *apīta*) RV. (10) AV. TS. TA. Add to VV I §370.

athā (AV. *adhā*) *mano śrasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṇuṣva*) RV. (1) AV. Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV. is secondary as shown by the meter.

athā (AV. *adhā*, MS. KS. *tato*) *no vardhayā rayim* (RV. JB. *giraḥ*) RV. (3) VS. TS. AV. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. JābU.

athā (AV. *adhāḥ*; comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhāḥ*, Barret, JAOS. 40. 161) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. (10) AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV.

atho (AV. *adhā*) *vayam bhagavantaḥ syāma* RV. (1) AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.

athā (AV. *adhā*, comm. *atha*) *vayam āditya vrate tava* RV. (1) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *athāditya vrate vayam tava* ArS. SMB.

athā (KS. *adhā*) *somasya prayatī yurabhyām* (KS. *yuvā*°, v. l. *yuva*°) RV. (1) TS. KS. N.

athā (MS. *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthaḥ* RV. (2) TS. MS.

§75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV. again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*:

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS.

adhā jīvema śaradām śatāni AV.: *atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam* VSK. And others; see Conc. under *asau jīva*.

adhā (HG. *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no grhān* AV. HG.

adhā (MS. MŚ. *athā*) *poṣasya poṣeṇa* VS. MS. KS. MŚ.

adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate grhe VS.: *atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ* TS.

athā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. †°*nān*, TS, twice †°*nān*, once °*nān*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

athā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

athā jīvaḥ (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*) *pitum addhi pramuktaḥ* (so divide) TS. MS. KS.: *athaitam pitum addhi prasūtaḥ* VS. ŚB.

adhāsya madhyam edhatām KSA.: *athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS. LŚ.: *athāsyaī* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.

indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā (TS. ApMB. °dhā) *kṛṇotu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB. ApŚ. ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. See §157.

§76. Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40. 678ff.; cf. Wackernagel I p. 123):

svāyām tanū (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūn*) *ṛtvīye* (RV.† *ṛtvye*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB. *nātha*°, but many mss. *nādha*°; MG. *bādha*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

§77. For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older:

avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ. 'vidh°; Kauś. adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

Kauś. That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*; *avidhuro* is clearly secondary.

maiśām nu gād aparo artham (TB. ApŚ. ApMB. *ardham*) *etam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB.: *mā no nu gād aparo ardhām etam* TA. ApŚ. 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part).' *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms; cf. RV. 1. 164. 17.

ābhūr (VS. TS. *ābhur*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °dhiḥ, NīlarU. °tiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Comm. on VS. 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *niṣaṅgathi* as meaning 'embracing' etc.; the other forms are ἀπ.λεγ. Probably °dhi is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °ti is a mere corruption.

parīdān vāso adhithāḥ (HG. *adhidhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB. The original (AV.) form is 2 sing. aor. mid. of *dhā*; the personal ending *-thāḥ* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāḥ*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhi*. See VV I p. 39.

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pītṛṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktraḥ* (KSA. *pāṅktaḥ*; but all mss. of both TS. and KSA. *pāṅtra-*) *kaśo mānthilavas* (KSA.† *ma*°) *te pītṛṇām* (KSA.† *pītṛ*°) TS. KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else. Said to mean 'flying fox'.

indrāvathuḥ (VSK. °*dhuḥ*, KS.* TB. ApŚ. °*taṁ*) *kāvyair* (TB. ApŚ. *karmanā*) *daṁsanābhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The subject is the Aśvins; so that VSK. is hardly interpretable. See VV I p. 282.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110.

§78. In the rest *dh* seems to be the original:

apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ.† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *anāmayaidhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The original (AŚ. ŚG.): 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra.' This SMB. converts into the unbelievable: 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra.' At least the comm. takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing. mid. of *mṛ* (one ms. reads *mṛdhā*); *riṣāma* of Kauś. confirms *mṛdh* as original. The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*taṁ mā mṛdhah*), which see in §98. On Kauś.'s reading see §344.

madhavyau stokāv (MS. °*kā*; AV. *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV. *yān*) *rarādha* AV. TS. MS. Several mss. and the comm. on AV. read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends.

adhorāma (HG. *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG.† *ulumbarah*) ApMB. HG. *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct; HG. mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q. v. in Conc.

dirghām anu prasīlim (KS. *saṁṛtim*) *āyuse dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dirghām anu prasṛtiṁ saṁsprṣethām* MS. An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām*: °*ṣethām*).

ph and *bh*

§79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms: *phalāya*, and, *phallāya* KhG.: *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB. GG. The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight; their meanings are unknown. The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind. St.* 2.88).

kanātkābhām (AŚ. *pranākūphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. See §151.

yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (ApŚ. °*balyā*, v. 1. °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*) *tasyāṁ me rāsva* . . . TB. ApŚ. See §114.

CHAPTER III. ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80. The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended; but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame; and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent; yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*.—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff.

k and *kh*

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms: *gohya* †*upagohyo marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāḥ* PG. SMB. Cf. *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss. vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings. *kaṣṭhākāya* (MahānU. *khakholkāya*) *svāhā* TA. TAA. MahānU. The MahānU. form recurs in the Purāṇas; it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (!), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is ἀπ.λεγ., and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

g and *kh*

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times:

sugam (VS. MS. ŚB. *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. I.Ś.

sugam (VS. MS. *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

g (k) and gh

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt; cf. *yena mahānaghnīyā jāghanam* AV. Kauś., where apparently all mss. of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnīyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney.

yajñasya ghoṣad asi TS. TB. ApŚ.: *goṣad asi* MS. KS. MŚ. TS. comm. 'wealth'; Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear.

yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The words are virtual synonyms.

apūpakṛd aṣṭakc ŚG.: *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB. Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*; same context; one must be a phonetic corruption of the other. 'O cake-making A.', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'.

c and ch

§84. Two variants, one an onomatopoetic word:

cec-cec chunaka sṛja . . . PG.: *chad apehi* . . . ApMB. Cf. the English 'skat'.

karṇābhyāṁ (PG. *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB. *cu°*) *adhi* RV. AV. ApMB. PG. A v. l. of AV. with its comm. *cubukād*; one ms. of ApMB. *cibukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

j and jh

§85. A single variant:

apāṁ naptre jaṣaḥ (KSA. *jhaṣaḥ*) TS. KSA. *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV.), but *jhaṣa* is regular in the later language. The word is of non-Aryan origin.

ṭ and ṭh

§86. These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic. In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets. In nearly every instance the *ṭh* form is proper, or at least more usual. Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation.

kuṣṭhayā (MS. *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīṇāni* MS. ApŚ. Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure; *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically.

nadībhyaḥ pauñjiṣṭham (TB. °*ṭam*) VS. TB. Also:

namaḥ puñjiṣṭhebhya (TS. °*ṭebhya*) *niṣādebhyaś ca vo namaḥ* TS. KS.:

namo niṣādebhyaḥ puñjīṣṭhebhyaś (MS. °ṭebhyaś) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. The word *puñj°* or *pauñj°* 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °ṭha, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

vaniṣṭum (AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. °ṭhum) *asya mā rāviṣṭa* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.† 5. 17. 9, MŚ. The regular form is *vaniṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation. Knauer (on MŚ.) would emend MS. to °ṭhum.

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve (VS. °ṣṭhīve) *bṛhadrathanitare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpantām*) VS. MS. (Add to VV I §357.) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhīva*, the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'.

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona edd. °ṣṭhā gha) *viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād* (p.p. *vā*, *aṣṭāt*) *dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* (read [a-] *varṇaḥ*?) MS. As a missile (*heti*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS. is entirely corrupt. The Poona ed. of both TB. and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*.

anupūrvam yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭa*) RV. AV. TA. *yatiṣṭa* could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (*yāti-ṣṭā*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yatamānā*) for *yāti ṣṭhā*, 'as many as ye be.'

rdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °ṣṭa) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruvam ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p. 241). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234. Cf. next.

āṣṭa (MS. *āṣṭhāḥ*, KS. ms.† *āṣṭāḥ*, em. v. Schr. *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* . . . TS. MS. KS. PG. See VV I p. 238, and cf. prec.

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *tī*, whereas RV. (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.

[*nīr aṣṭhaviṣam asmṛtam* GB. Vait. ApŚ. Quoted in Conc. with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB. and Vait. But the Vait. reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p. 119; and Gastra reads *aṣṭhaviṣam* in GB. without report of variant. Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhīv* 'spit' (cf. *ṣṭhutvā*, ApŚ.)]

§87. In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling. We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious;

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p.p. of MS.:

ṣaṣṭim (ŚŚ. *ṣaṣṭim*) *sahasrā navatim ca kaurama* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. The combination *ṣaṣṭim sahasrā* is very common; see e.g. Conc. thereunder. ŚŚ., if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*.

mā no agnim (p.p. *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭām*) MS.: *mā no rudro nirṛtir mā no astā* TA. See VV I p. 93. The forms are doubtful; read *āṣṭām*?

§88. The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ*. Nothing is known about the word *kakūṭha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal:

pīlvo (*pīdro*, *bīdro*) . . . *kakkaṭas* (*kakūṭhas*) . . ., see §67.

t and *th*

§89. These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged; there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff., 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*; and VV I, especially §§20f., 292ff., 326ff., has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90. We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p. 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older; in the last five, at least, the *th* form:

āpura stā . . . ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TŚ. AŚ. Add to VV I l.c.

taṁ sma jānīta (VSK. *°tha*) *parame vyoman* AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

MS.: *jānīta smainam* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS.

MŚ.: *etaṁ jānātha* (TB. *jānītāt*, KS. *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS. KS. TB

ŚB. Note especially that VSK. *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*.

śivā no bhavata (ApŚ. °*tha*) *jīvase* MS. ApŚ.

śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yaññīyāsaḥ* RV. TA. MG.

aśvā bhavata (AV. TS. KS. °*tha*) *vājināḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *devā bhavata vā°* RV.

tena krīḍantīś (ŚG. *krīl°*) *carata* (ŚG. °*tha*) *priyeṇa* (AV. *vaśān anu*) AV. TS. ŚG. PG. ViDh. *vaśān anu* in AV. is due to infection from RV. 1. 82. 3, 10. 142. 7.

devebhyo bhavata (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyaṇāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. *datto asmabhyam* (KS. *dattvāsma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsma°*, SMB. *dattāsma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS.

ye 'tra pitarāḥ . . . bhūyāsthā AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmiṇ loke . . . bhūyāsta* TS. TB. A primary ending on a precative form is absurd; yet all n'ss. of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on °*tha*; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86. *arālāg udabhartsata* (AV. mss. °*tha*) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. reading, augmented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has no standing.

aulaba (HG. °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB. HG. Several mss. of ApMB. read °*ta*; in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read.

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG.: *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ. See note in Stenzler's translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

indreṇa yujā (TB. *sayujā*) *pra mṛṇīta* (TB. °*tha* [Bibl. Ind. *praṇītha*]) *śatrūn* AV. TB. Add to VV I §16.

payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa (TS. °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS. omits *śivāḥ*) AV. TS. Followed by:

ūrjam ca tatra sumatiṁ ca pinvata (TS. °*tha*) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both; yet both are inconsistent. Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp. readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutaḥ siñcathā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative; see VV I pp. 78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads *pinvatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*.

yad āmayati niṣ kṛtha (TS. MS. KS. *kṛta*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *kṛtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *kṛdhi*, is the older reading; *kṛta* lect. fac.

yūyam (MS. *divo*) *vṛṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS. °*tā*) *purīṣiṇaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.—MS., which borrows *divo vṛṣṭim* from e.g. RV. 2. 27. 15b, is secondary also as regards °*tā*.

ud īrayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.

§91. About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp. 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89). We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older; in the majority there is little to choose between them:

citrebhir abhraiṛ upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by: *dyām varṣayatho* (MS. °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. See VV I p. 241. *yāv* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† °*thaḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS. *viśvasyādhīpā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °*tuḥ*), same texts. See VV I p. 228. The unanimity of AV. and KS., partly supported by MS., perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original; we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS. 4. 7. 15. 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.

tat satyam yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ (MŚ.† °*taḥ*); and, in same passage, *vīraṁ janayiṣyathaḥ* (MŚ. °*taḥ*),

te maṁ prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethe (MŚ. °*te*),

te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathaḥ (MŚ. °*taḥ*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 236.

ghṛtena (Kauś. *rapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VS. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇuvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. ApŚ. MŚ.: also see Conc. under *svarge* (°*geṇa*, *suvarge*) *loke* (-*na*) *prorṇuvāthām* etc. (only MS. °*tām*; VS. VSK. TS. KSA. [†*samprorṇuvāthām*] ŚB. TB. Vait. °*thām*).

yā rājānaṁ (MS. KS. °*nā*) *sarathan yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. *juṣetām* (and, °*thām*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. (both). Add to VV I §21.

kāmaṁ duhātām iha śaktvarībhiḥ AV.: *rāṣṭraṁ duhātām iha revatībhiḥ* TB. See VV I pp. 25, 224.

purā ḡdhrād araruṣaḥ pibātaḥ (TS. °*thaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original. *saṁ* (ApMB. *śam*) *ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ* (ApMB. *hathaḥ*) RV. ApMB. See VV I p. 24.

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāṇy āryā* (AV. TB. *apraṭi*) RV. SV. AV. TB.: followed by,

hato (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatī* RV. SV., and,

hato (SV. *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣaḥ* RV. SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.

yaññasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS. °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in the same stanza:

divi (KS. *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.† °*thām*), same texts. *abhūthām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse. See VV I p. 235.

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing *t* and *th*; or, in the last case, a verbal ending with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*:

abhīramyatām (MŚ. °*thām*!) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BṛhPDh. The MŚ. form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous; see VV I §22.

yāś ca (yā) *devīr* (devyo, devīs) *antān* (antān, tantūn) *abhito 'dadanta* (tatantha), etc.; see §63.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udīthaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. °*aya(h)sthūṇam* (TS. °*ñāv*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. The old loc. sing. in °*tā* is shifted in VS. ŚB. to a second person dual verb, *udīthaḥ*.

§93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities:

asunītāya (TA. °*thāya*) *voḍhave* AV. TA. The AV. comm. reads °*thāya*, which is clearly original; °*tāya* is infected by *asunīti*; cf. Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 56.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*. KS.* °*dhītam*, 38. 12b† °*nītha*, MS. °*dhīte*) *yaññaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. All forms are rare and dubious. KapS. (v. Schr. on KS. 8. 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °*tim* (so also v. l. of KS.).

nirṛtho (MS. °*to*) *yaś ca nisvanaḥ* (AV. *nisvaraḥ*) AV. MS. TA. *nirṛto* in MS. is a secondary blend of *nirṛtha* (old) and *nirṛti* (common). *svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG. Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG.; if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding.

ābhur (MS. KS. *ābhūr*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °*dhiḥ*, NīlarU. °*tiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The last has a corruption; see §77.

paktā (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. Comm. on TS., *pākaśīlam*. KSA. corrupt, see Keith on TS. 7. 5. 20. 1.

stuto 'si janadhāḥ TB. ApŚ. (LŚ. *pratīka*, *stutaḥ*): *tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ*

(PB. °yah) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ. Is *stuto* lect. fac. for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

samidhho agnir vṛṣaṇāratiṛ (AV. °ṇā rathī, ŚŚ. °ṇā rayir) *divaḥ* AV. AB.

AŚ. ŚŚ. From RV. 3. 3. 6, 4. 15. 2, 8. 75. 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading.

garbhaś ca sthātān garbhaś carathām RV. Conc. would read *cāratām* (gen. pl. of *cārant*); but *carāthām* (gen. pl. of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*).

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work:

atho (MU. *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA. TU. MU.

tato (AV. ArS. *tathā*) *viṣvañ vyakrāmat* (AV. *tathā vyakrāmad viṣvañ*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA.

atho rājann (AV. *uta rājñām*) *uttamān mānavānām* AV. TB.

atho pitā (MS. *utāyaṇ pitā*) *mahatām gargarāṇām* AV. TS. MS. KS.

§95. As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV. 8. 13. 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*; Sāyaṇa, *viśtīrṇa-dhana*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc. the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf. the doubtful *kṛtād-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV. 8. 31. 9; see however Wackernagel, 2. 1 pp. 64, 319; Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages.

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions:

tābhyān (MS. KS. add *vayaṇ*) *patema suktām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-āśma suktasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Dhātup. has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panthan*. Possibly Kauś. intends *pathyā(h) sma*. In VV I p. 110 we have treated its form as a precativ. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*.

hitvā na ūrjaṇ pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ (AV. *padāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. See §60.

saṁsrāvabhāgā (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *saṁsrava*°, MS. °*bhāgāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*bhāgās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *brhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *brhantaḥ*.

aktaṁ (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG.

viyantu) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. (bis) TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo* 'ktaṁ rihāṇāḥ VS. ŚB. KŚ. *aktaṁ rihāṇāḥ*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original; the KS. *arthaṁ* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS. 31. 11 suggests emending *arthaṁ* to *aktaṁ*. On MS. see §152.

atho mātātho pitā TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *hato hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. See §386.

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV.: *hataḥ krimiṇām kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. See *ibid*.

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ. °yās tu) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

grho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ (AŚ. gr° mi° hi°) AV. KS. AŚ. Here all AV. mss. and comm. read *mithaḥ*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption; RWh. read *mitaḥ* with Ppp. and KS. AŚ.

paritoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. Read in both *udarpithaḥ*; see §63.

upa yaḥnam asthita (AV. comm. *astṛta*, MŚ. *astu* no) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

t and *dh*

§97. Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vr̥dh* and *vr̥t*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous; but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vr̥t* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true:

bhīma ā vāvṛdhe (SV. *vāvṛte*) *śaraḥ* RV. SV.

madanti devīr amṛtā rtāvṛdhaḥ (Vait. °*vr̥taḥ*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland on Vait. 13. 20 assumes that °*vr̥taḥ* (all mss.) is an error.

abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya (AV. *vardhaya*) RV. AV. The AV. is certainly poor, and Ppp. has *vartaya*; see Whitney on 1.29. 1. Cf. next two.

yenendro abhivāvṛte (AV. °*vr̥dhe*) RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; same conditions. Cf. also next.

abhi somo avīvṛtat (AV. °*vr̥dhat*) RV. AV. In next verse to the prec. two; same conditions.

nivarto yo ny avīvṛdhaḥ (ApMB. °*vr̥tat*) HG. ApMB. Oldenberg adopts °*vr̥tat* for HG.

pumānsaṁ vardhatām (†text is right, despite Conc.) *mayi* ŚG.: *pumān saṁvartatām mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tarodare* SMB. 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me'; 'let a male be in me' or the like. ŚG. has a 3 dual active verb. See §840.

Note further the exchange between the old (RV.) adjectives *rtāvṛdh*

and *dhṛtavrata* (not concerning root *vṛt*) in: *āvṛtte* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* *ṛtāvṛdhau* (*dhṛtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665.

§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt:

saṁvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG. Synonyms.

sa mā mṛta (MG. *vṛtat*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG. 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him'; and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc. The MG. has a mere corruption, see §225. *ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgadhiḥ* (*°thiḥ*, *°tiḥ*), see §77.

vi te (PG. *tau te*, HG. *vidhe*) *krodhaṁ nayāmasi* PG. HG. ApMB. Kirste suggests emending HG. to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation; *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless.

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. Comm. on AV., followed by SPP. in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV. See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap. Whitney, p. xcii.

śriyai (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG. For the MG. Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc. *vettavai*.

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ. *†adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *adhi* is very inferior in sense.

d and *dh*

§99. This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; cf. e.g., Whitney on AV. 11. 1. 23 (*aṁsadhrī*: *°drī*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā*. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing.

Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following: *āyurdā asi* ŚŚ.: *āyurdhā asi* TS. JB. AŚ.

āyurdā (MS. KS. °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.

cakṣurdā (KS. °*dhā*) *asi* VS. KS. ŚB.

varcodā asi VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *varcodhā asi* AV. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

varcodā (MS. °*dhā*) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.—All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent.

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal: *dā* does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root *dhā*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected:

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS. *dadātu*) *hastayoḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoḥ* being really epexegetic; but also and chiefly because the MS. reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf. *mā no andhe* . . ., §105.

mayi puṣṭim †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭam puṣṭa°*) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB. Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG. is evidently an error.

[*mayi rucam dhāḥ* (KS. †*dhehi*) MS. KS. Conc. *dehi* for KS.]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dāḥ*, MS., recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ.; and in the same text (TS.) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehi* TS. 1. 5. 5. 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1. 6. 6. 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7. 5. 19. 2 (but, N. B., no **āyur mayi dehi*).

§103. In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another; not infrequently they may very well have originated independently:

rayim me dāḥ (AV. *dhehi*) AV. MS.

ojo dehi KS.: *ojo dhatta* TS. KŚ.: *ojo mayi dhehi* VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. ŚB.

balam dehi KS.: *balam dhatta* TS. MŚ.: *balam mayi dhehi* (AV. *me dāḥ* *svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.

saho mayi dhehi (AV. *me dāḥ svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.

prāṇaṁ dhehi (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. See Conc. in the vicinity of these.

vācam dhehi (MS. *me dāḥ*) MS. TA.

annaṁ me dehi (PB.* *dhehi*) PB. (both) LŚ. Kauś.; cf. note on Kauś. 136. 4.

āyur dhehi (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *āyur me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *āyur mayi dhehi* VS. TS. ŚB.: *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS. TB. ApŚ.: *āyur me dhattam* TB. ApŚ.

śrotraṁ dehi (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.: *śrotraṁ mayi* (KSA. †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS. KSA.: *śrotraṁ me dāḥ* AV. MŚ.

cakṣur dehi (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.: *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS. KSA. *dehi*) VS. KS. KSA. ŚB.: *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS.: *cakṣur me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. MS.

tejo mayi (AŚ. *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ. *dehi*) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. LŚ. ŚG. ApMB.: *tejo me dhāḥ* (AŚ. *dāḥ svāhā*) TA. AŚ.

varco mayi dhehi VS. TS. PB. ŚB. ApŚ.: *varco me dāḥ* (TA. *dhāḥ*) MS. MŚ. TA.: *varco me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *varco me dhehi* VSK. MS. KS. JB. ApŚ.: *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.

vīraṁ dhatta (AŚ. *vīraṁ me datta*; MŚ. °*no datta*) *pītarah* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vīrān nah pītaro dhatta* ViDh.: *vīrān me pītaro* (*tatāmahā*, *prata-tāmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB. LŚ. *dehi*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. GB. TB. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. *hṛdisprk kratusprg varcodāḥ* (MS. °*dhā asi*) MS. AŚ.

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority:

asvibhyāṁ pradhāpaya (TA. °*dāpaya*) MS. TA.

apām oṣadhīnām garbhaṁ dhāḥ (MŚ. *garbhaṁ me dāḥ*) TS. MŚ.

adhi dāt্রে vocaḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *adhi dhāt্রে vocaḥ* MS. KS.

cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāḥ TS.: *varcodhā varivodhāḥ* MS.: *varcodā varivodāḥ* (TA. *varivodā draviṇodāḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

bhūs (also, *bhuras*, and *svas*) *tvayi dadhāmi* (MG. *te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. MG.: *bhūr bhuvah svaḥ sarvaṁ tvayi dadhāmi* (MG. *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. MG.

anādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdata sahaṇjaso (TS. MS. KS. *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi kṣatraṁ* (*varcaḥ*) *kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ* (KS. *dadatīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

iyam vaḥ sā satyā saṁdhābhūd (MS. *saṁvāg abhūd*) *yām indreṇa samadhadhram* (MS. °*dadhram*) TS. MS.: *eṣā vas sā satyā saṁvāg abhūd*

yām indreṇa samadadhvam KS.: *yām indreṇa saṁdhām samadhatthāḥ* (comm. and some mss. *samadhattāḥ*) AV. Where the noun *saṁdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*; note that in MS. KS. it is replaced by *saṁvāg*; but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p. 128).

astrto nāmāham . . . ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvāprthivīrbhyām gopīthāya (KS. . . *dyāvāprthivyor ātmānam pari dade . . .*) AV. KS.

devīr āpo apām napād . . . devebhyo devatra dhatta (VS. ŚB. *datta*, KS. *dāta*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. . . . *taṁ devebhyaḥ śukrapebhyo dāta* MS.

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuḥ smane smānam . . . dehy asmai MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °*pate*) *puṣṭiś . . . asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ. *dhehi* or *dhehi svāhā*) AŚ. ApŚ. For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21. 324.

agnir annādo 'nnapatir . . . mayi dadhātu (TB. *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŚB. TB. KŚ. Similarly nine other formulas with other gods.

[*udgātār devayajanaṁ me dehi* ŚB. ApŚ. (Conc. *dhehi* for ApŚ.)]

§105. The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence; only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original:

rayiṁ devī dadhātu me AV.: *rāyo devī dadātu naḥ* RV.

purumedhaś (SV. °*dhās*) *cūt takave naraṁ dāt* (SV. *dhāt*) RV. SV.

dakṣaṁ dadhāsi (KS. *dadāsi*, v. l. *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *asmabhyam dattām* (AV. *dhattām*; but comm. *dattām*) *varuṇaś ca manyuḥ*

RV. AV.—Ppp. also *dattām*.

vasudeyāya (KS. °*dheyāya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV. KS. In RV. *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*.

tato no dehi jīvase RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś.

tisro dadhur (KS. *dadur*) *devatāḥ saṁrarāṇāḥ* VS.† (so for Conc. RV.)

19. 81b, MS. KS. TB. The majority are probably original.

somāya rājñe paridhātavā (HG. °*dā*°) *u* AV. HG. ApMB. As Kiste remarks, HG. is secondary or corrupt; the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts.

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt MŚ. (properly emended by Knauer to *ādāt*, cf. §101): *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo śv*) *asmāns tamasy antar-ādāt* TA.: *mo śvatvam asmāntarādāt* MS.† (corrupt).

pratyādīyāpara iṣvā AV. 10. 1. 27; read *pratyādhīyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations.

dhātā dadhātu (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. *dadātu*) *no rayim* AV. TS. MS.† KS. ApŚ. ApMB. Kauś. See §106, first two variants.

dhātā dadhātu (ApŚ. *dadātu*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. *indreṇa ma indriyaṃ dattam ojaḥ* AV.: *asmin nara indriyaṃ dhattam ojaḥ* TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *dhattam*.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG.: *āyuṣ te* (AV. *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV. TS. TA. ApŚ. AŚ. HG. BDh. Cf. *rayim no dehi* . . . §106.

rāyas poṣaṃ cikituṣe (AV. °ṣī, AŚ. *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

iṣam ūrjaṃ yajamānāya dhehi (Vait. *dattvā*, AV. *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

lokam asmai yajamānāya dehi (MU. *dhehi*) TS. KSA. MU.

traṣṭā rūpāṇi dadhatī (ŚB. KŚ. *dadatī*) *sarasvatī* ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. *dadatī* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda.

asme dhehi (SV. *dehi*) *jātavedo mahi śravaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarṇam adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV. AV. N.

The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

devebhyo (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. °*dhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†

pra ṇo (MS. KS. *mā*) *brūtād bhāgadhān* (ApŚ. °*dhām*, MS. °*dām*, KS. *dhavīrād*) *devatāsu* (KS. °*tābhyaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

§106. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

✓ *dhātā dadātu* (AV. *dadhātu*) *dāśuṣe* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG. N. See next. *dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu* AV.: *dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe vasūni* TS. MS.

ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

rayim no dehi jīvase ŚŚ.: *rayim no dhehi yajñīyam* MS. Cf. *āyur no dehi jīvase*, §105.

medhām agnir dadātu me (SMB. *dadhātu te*) SMB. ApMB.; cf. *medhām ta indro dadātu* HG., *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh. VS.

tasmai mā devāḥ paridhatteha sarve AV.: *tasmai no devāḥ paridatteha* (KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*, PG. °*dhatteha*) *sarve* (MŚ.† *viśve*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also °*datteha*, called by Whitney a better reading; of this we are less sure.

tasya no rāsya tasya no dhehi (AŚ. *dāh*) AV. AŚ.

jīvaṇṇ eva prati tat te dadhāmi (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīvaṇṇ eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ.

udno (AV. ed. *ūdhnō*, but mss. *utno* etc.; Whitney transl. reads *udno*) - *divyasya no dhātaḥ* (TS. KS. *dehi*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. *dhāta*, explaining by *dhehi* (!).

mahi varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ (KS. *dadatīḥ*, TS. *vanvānāḥ*) TS. MS. KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. This (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (: *dabh*), is the usual form:

nindād yo asmān dīpsāc (VS. ŚB. *dhīpsāc*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *dhīpsyaṇ vā saṁcakara jānebhyah* MS.: *aditsan vā saṁjagara jānebhyah* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf. §§180, 45).

yaṁ te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ RV.: *yaṁ te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayaḥ* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep. on 8. 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

sā brahmayāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmayasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*.

rajani (AV. ed. em. *rajjuni*) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense.

adhi kṣami (SV. *asmin kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānaḥ* (SV. *°rām dīdyānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjakaumudī* 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, *sudītibhiḥ . . . sve kṣaye . . . vrdhase*, or RV. 5. 23. 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu . . . dīdihi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānaḥ*).

yad bañhiṣṭhaṁ nātividhe (TB. *°vide*) *sudānū* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB. comm. *nātyantaṁ labhyam*. But the compound *ati-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MS. has *°vide*.

indra dartā (SV. *dhartā*) *purām asi* RV. SV. AV. The foolish antonym of SV. is disproved by RV. 1. 130. 10, 3. 45. 2, 6. 20. 3.

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. So also mss. on AV. 7. 83. 2, emended by RWh. to *dāmno-dāmno*. Whitney, Transl., keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp. has *dh-*. But Keith on TS., 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible. At any rate there is no variant. In the preceding verse also the AV. mss. have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh. to *dāmāni*; the variant KS. 3. 8, AŚ. 3. 6. 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*.]

§108. A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times; the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *i* also comes in here. In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear:

mā no vidad (KS. *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *vr̥janā*) *dveṣyā* †*yā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Cf. Conc. under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*).

hotrāvidah (RV. °*vida*, TB. °*vr̥dha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB.

On *hotrāvid* cf. RV. 5. 8. 3; *hotrāvr̥dh* is not recorded.

indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvr̥dhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā samvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

§109. Remoter lexical variants are the following:

śyenasyeva dhrajaṭo (MS. KS. *dravato*) *añkasam pari* RV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. *dravataḥ* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*; cf. RV. 1. 165. 2.

avocāma karaye medhyāya RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ: *śrutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*, TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. *sūd°* is evidently secondary. Note that in AV. 20. 136. 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index).

taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dho (HG. *suh̥rdo*, AV. *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. *suvr̥dhā vardh°*, 'growing with good growth', is original. In HG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātaraḥ* ('brothers, friends').

spardhante dhiyaḥ (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA. † *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS. KSA., into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed).’ So at least the TS. comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of *divah* to *diváh* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of ‘conflicting prayers’ (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff., or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25. 1ff.). The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest are obscure if not corrupt:

apa snehitīr (KS. ms. *snihiti*, em. v. Schroeder; SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *ṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ* [so divide], KS.† *ṛmaṇām adadrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ ṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ ṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.—KapS. reads *snehitī ṛmaṇām athaṁdrī*. In RV. ‘He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies.’ Cf. 1. 74. 2. Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāḥ* as ‘riches.’ The TA. comm. understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasarāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravaṇaśīlam* (v. l. *atho*°, as if *atha* = *adhas*+*drā*!). Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?

anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema* Vait. Comm. on TB. *adham id, anantaram eva*; but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā*: *sadam* = *adhā*: *adham*; note that the TB. comm. assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, ‘always’. Cf. VV I p. 195.

upākṛtaṁ śaśamānaṁ yad asthāt (MŚ. *sadhassthāt*, v. l. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. If *sadhassthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtaṁ*: ‘fetched from home’ or the like.

vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ. mss. *dhṛṣadā* and *drṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. See §60.

ud vaṁśam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

adhā viṣitaḥ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ KS.: *adomadam annaṁ addhi pramuktaḥ* AV. And others, §870. *adomadam* is obscure; we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun).

[*tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB. And others; §325. Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh.; but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.]

p and *ph*

§111. Only in the synonymous roots *guṣp* and *gulph*. Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *guṣp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*); see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV.* 338, top, where *guṣṭitam* ŚB. 3. 2. 2. 20 is a misprint of that text:

mano yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) MS. ApŚ.

yad asya guṣṭitam (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) ḥṛdi MS. ApŚ.

viṣāṇe vi śya guṣṭitam (some mss. and comm. *gulphitam*) AV.

p and bh

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings: most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support'. In AV. 3. 5. 4e, *taṁ priyāsaṁ bahu rocamānaḥ*, we must read *bhriyāsaṁ* with Whitney.

manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ (TB.* ApŚ.* LŚ. *piprataḥ*) RV. VS. TB. LŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. Both readings in TB. ApŚ.

utem (ŚŚ. *uto*) *āṣu mānaṁ piparti* (ŚŚ. *bibharti*) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *piparti*, which should perhaps be read even in that text. *taṁ piprhi daśamāsyō* 'ntar udare ŚG.: *taṁ mātā daśa māso bibhartu* ApMB. HG.

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu AV. 13. 1. 1d; Ppp. according to Roth *pipartu* for *bi°*, which must be secondary if Ppp. has *subhṛtaṁ* as indicated by Roth's silence. This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV. 11. 5 (1d, 2e, 4d):

sa ācāryaṁ tapasā piparti (Ppp. *bibharti*),

sarvān sa devāṁs tapasā piparti (Ppp. *bibharti*), and

śrameṇa lokāṁs tapasā piparti (Ppp. *bibharti*), all AV. and Ppp.

§113. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12. 414ff.:

sanyopayanto duritāni viśvā RV. MG.: *samlōbhayanto duritā padāni* AV. *ayupitā* (ApŚ. *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to

Vol. 2) *yonih* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases:

agner jihvāsi suhūr (VSK. TS. TB. *subhūr*, KS. *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jihvā* best.

yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (ApŚ. °*balyā*, vv. 11. °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*) . . .

TB. ApŚ. The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown. TB. comm. has a fatuous explanation.

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel 1 §218. Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*; and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV. and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent; they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS. and KS. RV. and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS., MS., ŚB. and ApMB.—and the RV. sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

bh and *h*

§116. We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah*: *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, *grah* and *grabh*: *grbhñāmi* (AV. HG. *grhñāmi*) *te saubhagatrāya* (ApMB. HG. *supra-jāstvāya*) *hastam* RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. *jagrhmā* (RV. *jagrḥbmā*, TB. *jagrḥbhñā*) *te dakṣiṇam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS. TB. Svidh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form *jagrḥbhñā* (comm. *vayaṁ grhītarantaḥ*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote: 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *ṇ* after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form; *jagrḥbmā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV. is stupidly altered to *-ñā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *grbh-ṇā-ti*.—F E.]

na hy asyā (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma grbhñāmi* RV. ApMB.: *nahi te nāma jagrāha* AV.

hiraṇyapāvāḥ paśum āsu (SV. *apsu*) *grbhñate* (AV.† *grh°*) RV. AV. SV. *savitā* (AG. ApMB. HG. MG. °*tā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (AV. SMB. MG. °*hīt*) AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.: *devas te savitā hastam grhñātu* AV.

idaṁ rādhaḥ prati grbhñihy (JB. *grhñihy*) *aṅgiraḥ* AV. GB. JB. ŚŚ. *bhagas te hastam agrabhīt* (AV. °*hīt*) AV. ŚG. ApMB.

- agnis̥ te hastam agrabhūt* (SMB. °hūt) SMB. ApMB. HG.
aryamā (ApMB. °mā te) *hastam agrabhūt* (SMB. °hit) ŚG. SMB. ApMB.
oṣadhayaḥ prati grbhñūta (TS. KS. grhñītāgnim etam, MS. MŚ. grbhñi-
 tāgnim etam) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
nākaṇi grbhñānāḥ (TS. KS. grh°) *sukṛtasya loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
agne brahma grbhñīṣva (MS. MŚ. grhñīṣva, KS. grhīṣva) VS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. MŚ.
apo devīr (VS. ŚB. devā) *madhumatīr agrhñan* (MS. KS. agrbhñām,
 VS. ŚB. agrbhñan) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
āpo devīḥ pratigrbhñūta (TS. KS. ApŚ.† °grhñūta) *bhasmaitat* VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.
devo vaḥ savitā hiraṇyapāṇiḥ prati (MS. MŚ. °pāṇir upa) *grhñātu* (VS.
 ŚB. pratigrbhñātṽ . . . ; VSK. °vaḥ savitā pratigrhñātu . . .) VS. VSK.
 TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
adīṣis te (VS. MS. ŚB. °tiṣ te) *bilam grhñātu* (VS. MS. ŚB. grbh°) . . .
 VS. TS., MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.
taṁ vo grhñāmy (MS. taṁ te grbhñāmy) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 TA.
prati grhñāmi (MŚ. TB.† AŚ. grbh°) *mahate vīryāya* (MS. KS. mahata
 indriyāya) MS. KS. TB. AŚ.—TB. Poona ed. text and comm.
 grbh°.
yasya yoniṁ patireto grbhāya (HG. prati reto grhāṇa) ŚG. HG.: *vy asya*
yoniṁ prati reto grhāṇa ApMB.

§117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots *bhr* and *hr*, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here. *parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti* (MŚ. har°) AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.

rātrīm-rātrīm (VS. ŚB.* *ahar-ahar*, AV. TS. *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (both): *ahar-ahar balim it te harantaḥ* AV.

śarma varmedam ā bhara ApMB.: *śarma varmaitad ā hara* AV.

viṣṇuḥ sambhriyamāṇaḥ VS.: *viṣṇur upāvahriyamāṇaḥ* TS.

prāṇāpānābhyāṁ balam āharantī (ApMB. ābhar°) SMB. ApMB. (Other forms, see Conc.)

§118. Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita* (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf. preceding). Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms. Cf. also *-dhita*: *-bhṛta*, §175:

hiraṇye 'smiṁ samāhitāḥ (HG. *samābhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. Schef-telowitz reads °hṛtāḥ in RVKh.

devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ (TB. °bhṛtāḥ) SV. TB.: *devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ* RVKh. But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāḥ for RVKh.; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. *gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat* VS.: *gan° nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS. TB.: *sūryāñ* (p. p. °yāt) *śukraṁ samābhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santaṁ* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitam* (KS. TA. °bhṛtam) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtaṁ (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*; MŚ. *nihitam*) *padam hi te* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ.

§119. Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable; one does about as well as another:

agner jihvāsi suhūr (*subhūr*, *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (*devānām*), see §114.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. According to Roth Ppp. has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed.

ā tvī subhava (AB. AŚ. *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

samudraṁ na suhavaṁ (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavaṁ*) *tasthi-vāṁsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṁsam* MS.—AVPpp. reads as MS. except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS 35. 46, reads *subhuvas*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB. comm. (*sukhenāhvātuṁ śakyam*).

suhutakṛtaḥ stha . . . AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *subhūtakṛtaḥ subhūtaṁ naḥ kṛṇta* ŚŚ.

§120. In two cases—besides the *grah*: *grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*:

kakubhaṁ (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuhaṁ*) *rūpaṁ vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpaṁ ṛṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (pratikas, ApŚ. MŚ.).—*kakuha* occurs already in RV., which does not know *kakubha*. Cf. §23.

apām gambhan śīla VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *apām gambhīraṁ gacha* KS. ApŚ.: *apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi . . .* MS. MŚ.

§121. Miscellaneous cases:

brāhmaṇebhyo hy anujñātā (TA. °bhyanu°) TA. MahānU. *hi*: (a) *bhi*. *asambhavyaṁ* (JB. *asamheyam*, perhaps for *asamkhyeyaṁ*) *parābhavan* AV. JB.

abhi dyumnaṁ (RV. VS. *sumnaṁ*) *devabhaktaṁ yariṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yariṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso †vatā haveṣu* AV.

dh and *h*

§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhī*: *hi*; participle *hita*: *dhīta*), partly on lexical changes:

nṛñi (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi śṛṇudhī* (SV. °*hī*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 253.

uṣṇena vāya (ApMB. *vāyar*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. *ihī*: *edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary.

upasthe soma āhitaḥ (ApMB. *ādhitah*) RV. AV. ApMB. MG. Note archaism in ApMB.

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny āṇṛdhuḥ (TS. *āṇṛhuḥ*, MS. *ānaśuḥ*) AV. TS. MS. Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *āṇṛhuḥ* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *āṇṛdhuḥ*; see Whitney's note on AV. 2. 35. 1 and Keith on TS. 3. 2. 8. 3.

ḡrdhrah śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. ms. *vārhiṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°, questionably; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. Three mss. of AV. *dhṛṣitāso*; Ppp. ms. *ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35. 59f., reads *dhṛṣatā*.

The form *hṛṣit*° is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa*°. *usrāu* (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etaṁ dhūrṣāhau* (VSK. MŚ. °*vāhau*, KS. °*bādhā*) ... VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

gh and *h*

§123. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*:

arghaḥ HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyam bhoḥ* Kāuṣ.: *arhaṇīyā āpaḥ* ApG. See §321, end. *arh* = *argh*.

aṅghārīr (ŚŚ. *aṅhārīr*, all mss.) *asi bambhārīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. The word is obscure, but ŚŚ. looks like a phonetic reduction.

somaṁ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantaṁ payasvantaṁ †vīryāvantaṁ abhimātiṣāham

(KS. *vīryāvantaṁ bahvarghaṁ śobhamānam*) TS. KS.: *somavikrayin somaṁ te krīṇāni mahāntaṁ bahvarhaṁ bahu śobhamānam* MS. *taṁ ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV. TS.: *taṁ hed agnir vidhāvati* MS. Particles *gha* and *ha*.
vīraṁ hi (read *avīraghnī?*) *vīravataḥ suśevā* MG.: *avīraghno* (ApMB.† °nī) *vīravataḥ* (ŚG. *vīratarah*, HG. °*tamah*) *suṁvīrān* (HG. *suśevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

kh and *h*

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog. With this cf. *asaṁbhavyaṁ* (JB. *asaṁheyaṁ*) *parābhavan* AV. JB., where *asaṁheyaṁ* may be for *asaṁkhyeyaṁ*; see §121.

khaṇvakhā3i khaimakhā3i madhye taduri AV.: *haimahā3 haimahā3* KŚ. Cf. *haimahā3 idaṁ madhv . . .* ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

I. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125. Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK. affects forms like *tanakmi* for *tanacmi*, *yunagmi* for *yunajmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK. is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK. also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff., especially 121ff., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

k and *c*

§126. The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*:

samānam ceto abhisamviśadhvam (TB. *keto abhisamrabhadhvam*) AV. TB. *ā no agne sucetunā* (TB. ApŚ. *suketunā*) RV. SV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

The *s*-stem *ketas* is ἄπ.λεγ., and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular. TB. comm. *sahavāsasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *cī*, 'pile', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 66. 4; Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

śokāt (TS. *śocāt*) *prthivya uta vā divas pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *śocāt* is ἄπ.λεγ. and analogical.

kanīkhunad iva sāpayan TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ. *c-* is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147. *yatraitān* (VS. ApMB. °*nān*) *vettha nihitān parāke* (SMB. *parācaḥ*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāk-a-*.

nū cit (SV. *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV. *cīt* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred.

atho adhivikartanam (ApMB. °*cartanam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Here the two roots are unrelated: *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'. *ima udvāsīkāriṇa* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsīcāriṇa* . . . MŚ. See §59. The MŚ. reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kr*.

§127. In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK., see §125:

indrasya (MS. MŚ. *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgaṇ somena tanacmi* (VSK. *tanakmi*, MS. MŚ. *somenātanacmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *somena tvā tanacmīnd-rāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ.

g and c

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with *c* is presumably original:

na vai śvetasyādhycāre (HG. °*bhyācāreṇa*, MG. °*bhyācāre*, AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

k and ch

§128a. An isolated lexical variant:

chavīm (KSA. †*kavīm*) *chavyā* TS. KSA. The latter is doubtless original; assimilation to the next word in TS., resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

kh and ch

§129. Two variants contain forms of *khid* and *chid*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7. 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch*. See his references §131b, end, and cf. Güntert, *Reinwortbildungen* 23, 32.

yataḥ (MS. *yena*) *prajā akhidrā* (MS. *achidrā*) *ajāyanta* . . . TS. MS. KS. *akhidrāḥ* (ApŚ. *aghorah*) *prajā abhivipaśya* KS. ApŚ.: *achinnapatrāḥ* (MS. *°traḥ*) *prajā anuvikṣasva* VS. MS. ŚB.

g and *j*

§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff.) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y*. Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack. §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack. §130c). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

§131. To begin with, VSK. as we have remarked (and in one case SV.) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127). This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *sṛj* with palatal):

mītrāvaruṇayos tvā praśāstroḥ praśiṣā yunajmi (VSK. *°gmi*) . . . VS.

VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnīm yunajmi (VSK. *°gmi*) *śavasā ghṛtena* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnīṣomābhyām juṣṭam ni yunajmi (VSK. *°gmi*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

vājinaṁ tvā vājedhyāyai (TS. *sapatnasāham*; KS. *vājīn vājayatyāyai*)

saṁ mārjmi (VSK. *°gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

vājīnīm tvā vājedhyāyai (TS. *sapatnasāhīm*; KS. *vājīni vājayatyāyai*)

saṁ mārjmi (VSK. *°gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. Corresponding

formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*; see Conc. under *vāji tvā*.

upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛjmahe RV. AV.: *upa tvā kāmā īmahe sasṛgmahe* SV.

§132. Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *sṛj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*:

hinvāno mānuṣā yugā (SV. *yujā*) RV. SV.

daivyaṁ mānuṣā yugā RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *vīprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS.:

daivaṁ mānuṣā yujā MS. The SV. form of the first variant may

be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj*. In this

case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural

of *yuga* (cf. Wackernagel I §128a, d). In the second case also

MS. may have an adverbial instrumental.

diṣṭāya rajjusarjam (TB. *°sargam*) VS. TB.

prajāpate viśvasṛj (MS. *°sṛg*, mss. mostly *sṛk*, one *sṛj*) *jīvadhanyaḥ*

MS. TB. AŚ.† 2. 14. 12c [also in Conc. under *idaṁ no deva pratiharya*

havyam, read AŚ. 2. 14. 12d] ApŚ.—The ἀπ.λεγ. *rajju*^o seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB. comm. *rajjūnām sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj*: *srg* see Wackernagel I pp. 173f., 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *srt*; cf. below, §142, *brahman tvam asi viśvasrt* (^o*sṛk*).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*; cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc.:

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgalīti* (KSA.† mss. *jalgalūti*, ed. em. *jalgalīti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: †*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG.: *pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG.; see Kirste's note.

sadā yācann ahañ girā (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. Comm. on SV. reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jiyām*. Very dubious.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ* (most mss. *apa*) *śvetapad āgahi* (so all mss.) MG. See §817.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (^o*nītir*, ^o*dhītam*, ^o*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. See §93.

2. GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *q*: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇḍaś ca* ApMB. See §165.

3. GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

k and *t*

§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*; see Bloomfield, *IF* 4. 74ff.; Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV. always has *stabh*, while AV. prefers *skabh*:

jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat (AV. *aska*°) RV. AV.

mahān mahī astabhāyad (AV. KS.† *aska*°) *vi jātaḥ* AV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ.

yaṁ krandaśi avasā tastabhāne (AV. *avataś caska*°) RV. AV. VS. VSK.

TS.: *ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne* MS. KS. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS* 35. 44f.)

vy astabhñā (VS. ŚB. *aska*°, MS. *aška*°, KS. *aṣṭa*°, TS. *askabhñād*, TA. *aṣṭabhñād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (°*ṇa*, °*ṇur*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

divaṁ skabhāna KS.: *dyām stabhāna* KS.

§138. There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

stuhi śūraṁ vajriṇam apratikam (TB. *apratitam*) MS. TB. The Bibl.

Ind. ed. of TB. has *apratittam*, but comm. and Poona ed. text correctly, *apratitam*, 'invincible'. MS. has a mere blunder.

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB.: *prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā* AV. See Whitney on AV. 10. 7. 42.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jatṛbhya*, MS. *caṛṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*!)

ātrdaḥ (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57.

ugro (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG. °*jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*-)

sedha (AV. *vr̥ṇkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

§139. Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*); cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong:

vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena TB.: *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā*

ghṛtena AV. For *vi-unattu* cf. RV. 1. 164. 47, 5. 83. 8; for *saṁ-*

anaktu, RV. 10. 88. 4, 118. 4. The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic.

devair nyuptā (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. °*twam*) AV.

KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Cast forth (KS. impelled, AV. spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness).' Ppp.

reads *mahitvā*, and also *sṛṣṭā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean.

anyām icha pitṛśadaṁ vyaktām (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmim*

icha pitṛśadaṁ nyaktam (read °*tām*) AV. Here the assimilated

form of ApMB. (with *saṁprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary.

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ RV.: *sarvam uktam anuvidur vasiṣṭhāḥ*

JB. A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.

iha prasatto (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtaṁ naḥ* RV. AV.

MS. TB. *prasapto* (comm. *prakarṣeṇa samāgataḥ san*, as if from *pra-srp* with Prakritic *a* for *r*) has no standing. AV., tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*.

viviktyai (TB. *vivityai*, read with Poona ed. *vivittyai*) *kṣattāram* VS. TB.

viviktyai, 'for discernment', is certainly original. TB. comm. *viṣeṣa-lābhābhimāninyai*: but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication.

dhātuḥ kakaṭaḥ (KSA. *kakkaṭaḥ*) TS. KS. Original form unknown; VS.

24. 32 has *kakkaṭa*.

avimuktacakra (v. l. °rā) *āśīran* PG.: *virṭtacakrā āśīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

§140. There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff. These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch*. In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV., once in AV., once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable.

vṛṣaṇaṁ pṛtsu (SV. *pṛkṣu*) *sāsaḥim* RV. AV. SV. Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root *prc*) is silly.

yat te ditsu (SV. *dikṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV. SV. The RV. has a nom. sg. neut. of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas*. SV. clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt').

yad ditsasi (SV. *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; *śikṣeyam* and *dītseyam* together in RV. 8. 14. 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81. 2.

agniṁ (AV. *agnīḥ*) *sruco adhvaṛeṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. *prayaty adhvaṛe*, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of pādas (RVRep. 660). Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayatsu* = *prayakṣu* (*pra-yaḥ*), but the form does not really construe. The hymn AV. 5. 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Ātharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p.p. leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV. readings with *kṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsu*.

āvitsi (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid*: *ā-yuḥ*.

prāsmāṇ ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB. Here, of course, *kṣ* is original; *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*.

§141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations:

tādītṇā (TB. † *°knā*) *śatruṁ* (TB. *°ūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. Conc. *vivatse*, read *vivitse* with Poona ed. text and comm.) RV. TB. *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm. (Poona ed.), which glosses *tādīśān*! It seems that it must mean simply *tādītṇā*.

§142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final. All concern the ends of *pādas*. Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añc* stems; a third is simply a matter of external sandhi:

anamītram no adharāt (KS. *°rāk*, VSK. *me ṭadharāk*) AV. VSK. KS.

Equivalent adverbs, one abl. of *adhara*, the other acc. neut. of *adharāñc*. The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād* (*°rāg*) *ā purastāt*.

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

brahmaṇ (MahānU. *brahman*) *tvam asi viśvasṛt* (MahānU. *°sṛk*) TA.

MahānU. There is a v. l. *°sṛk* in TA; and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic. Possibly, however, *sṛt* may be for *sṛt* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*; cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, α. [Delete *brahma tvam asi* etc. in Conc.]

samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.* *sarit*) *śravanti sarito na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §830.

sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak (TB. ApŚ. *abhiṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Altho TB. comm. fatuously glosses by *bhīṣ-ajyatu*, *abhiṣṇāt* (*abhi+iṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k:t* enters as a factor. While *abhiṣṇak* is ἀπ.λεγ., the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary.

Note also: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā riṣat* MG. 1. 9. 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss. point to *riṣak* as the true reading; of course it must mean the same as *riṣat*. Cf. Wackernagel I §260a, β, small print; §277a.

Cf. also AV. 1. 18. 2a: *nir araṇim savitā sāviṣat padoh*; so the vulgate;

but all mss. *sāviṣak*, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm. and Ppp. both have *sāviṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following; on the subject of final *k:t* see most recently Renou, *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n.; Oertel, *ibid.* 137; and our §272a, *na me tad* etc.; our §145; and *abhiṣyak* for °*ṣyat*, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p. 242, *infra*).

tasyām no devaḥ (MS. *tasyām devaḥ*) *savitā dharman* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŠB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

The next is an error of the Conc.:

[*trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ.: *trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛk* KS. Conc., but read *rathavṛt*; text °*vṛj jīvo*—.]

kh and *t*

§143. In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following; Stenzler on PG. 2. 11. 12 translates the AŚ. reading. See his note there, and his critical note.

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG. *sakhyasya dharmanāḥ*) AŚ. PG.

g and *d*

§144. Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation:

ā galdā dhamanīnām (ApŚ. *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ. MŚ. N. *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga*-?); *galdā* is Rigvedic (8. 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure. Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 84, and *KZ* 41. 183ff., discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ. MŚ. After him many others; see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 1. 20. The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*; see §225. Caland leaves the pāda untranslated.

yad annam admi (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (etc., §619) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

na vai gāvo maṅgīrasya (KŚ. *mandīrasya*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology.

rudras (MŚ. *ugras*) *tanticaro vṛṣā* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. KhG.

marudbhīr ugrā ahṛṇīyamāṇāḥ AV.: *marudbhī rudrāḥ samajānatābhi* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*.

āsmīnn (KS. *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

In an obscure ritual verse; MS. doubtless a lect. fac.

§145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under *k:t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and *°rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant:

ottarād adharād (TB. *°rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV. MS. KS. TB.

niyudbhīr (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. †*muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. [Add to VV I §§25 and 156.] Also:

prayugbhya (TB. *prayud°*) *unmattam* VS. TB. In the first of these two *viyugbhīr* is untenable, because the *niyutaḥ* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, *prayugbhyaḥ* of VS. is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahīdhara; Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm. on TB. glosses *prayud°* by *prakarṣeṇa yoddhrdevebhyaḥ*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB. 3. 7. 9. 1, ApŚ. 12. 3. 2 occurs *prayutaḥ*, which TB. comm. glosses *prakarṣeṇa somaṁ miśrayantaḥ* (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB. reading. But PB. 1. 2. 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up *prayutaḥ*.

nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (comm., and Poona ed. text, *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.: *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrut astu* MŚ. The latter is not quite certain; the mss. record forms which look towards the TB. reading. But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root *śru* (comm. *śrotā*); so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

mayuṁ (also *gauram*, *gavayam*, *meṣam*, *śarabham*) *te śug ṛchatu* (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS. actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

triśug (AŚ. *°śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. *°śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati MS.: *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvati* TA. The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture'; TA. is correct, and MS. an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(k)* and *d(t)* have a share.

dadhṛg (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. *°kṣan*) *paryāṅkhayāte* (TA. *°tai*, AV. *pariṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.

n̄ (for *k*) and *n* (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced':

suvān nabhrād . . . MS. MŚ.: *svān nabhrād* . . . KS.: *svāna bhrājānghāre* . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrōḷ* . . . TA.

amāsi sarvān (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś. The original is *sarvān* (*sarvānc* 'turned in all directions'); AŚ. secondary.

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest: *grāme vidhuram* (HG. *vikhuram*) *ichantī svāhā* HG. ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.

aghadvīṣṭā devajātā AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.

deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ tvā TA. ApŚ: *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ tvā* MS. The former is original: 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS. has a slipshod substitute.

yad aghriyata (KS. °*yathās*) *tad ghṛtam* (KS. adds *abhavas*) MS. KS: *yad adhriyata tad ghṛtam abhavat* TS. As Keith says, the TS. etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa; but the other is certainly original.

4. GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148. Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittirīya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k(g)* in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *ISt.* 13. 109, n. 2; Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii. This applies to TB. as well as TS., but apparently not to ApŚ.:

anuṣṭup (TB. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ. *pañktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

anuṣṭup (TS. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

triṣṭub (TS. *triṣṭug*) *graiṣmī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV. 11. 2. 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm. *pulī*°). It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS.

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA. *†kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

kulīkā devajāmibhyaḥ VS.: *devānām patnībhyaḥ pulīkāḥ* MS.

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuṇa* in RV. decides. It may be onomatopoeic:

avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuñkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ. N.

nīcerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. In same passage as preceding; nom. changed to voc. in TS. TB. by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following; lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them:

kanātkābhām (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ., despite preceding *r*. Comm. on TB., desperately, *kanakavad bhāsamānām rūpavāṇīm kanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *bajābojopakāśinī* HG.: *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīḥ* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

kūtanānām (VS. ŚB. *kukūnanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā patmann ā dhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kolanāsu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ā dhūnomi*) TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoeic, epithet of waters.

śam te (AV.* *śam u*, TA. *śam u te*, KS. MŚ. *śam naḥ*) *santv anūpyāḥ* (TA. *anūkyāḥ*) AV. KS. TA. MŚ. *anūkyāḥ* might be considered a purely phonetic variant; it should be remembered that Tait. texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāḥ*, from *anūpa*; so comm., *anūpadeśe bhavā anūkyā āpaḥ*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?); and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

pūlyāny (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB.: *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG. PG. MG.: *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB. HG. *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait. preference for gutturals, cf. the prec. and §148.

vanakraḥṣam (SV. °*prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV. SV. 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood'. The onomatopoetic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāṇa*, *avakrakṣin*. SV. °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'.

aṅśum (AV. *aṅśūn*) *babhasti* (ApŚ. *gabh°*) *haritebhir āsabhiḥ* AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh°* is uninterpretable. Caland gives up the verse.

grīvāyām (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Original is *apikakṣe*, a certain part of the body. MS. (p.p. *api- pakṣaḥ*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf. Keith on TS. 1. 7. 8. 3).

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṇ juhomi TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśvadāvyē tvā saṇjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. *viśloka* is perhaps a sort of lect. fac., but *viśvalopa* is itself not clear; cf. Keith on TS. 3. 3. 8. 2.

§152. The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate; that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved.

agner (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

yad adya dugdham prthivīm asṛpta (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In MŚ., as in AB. AŚ., the parallel following pāda contains *asṛpad*; in TB. ApŚ., *asarad*.

iha prasatto (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtaṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. See §139.

krāṇā (SV. *prāṇā*) *śīśur mahīnām* RV. SV. And:

krāṇā (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇaḥ*) *sindhūnām kalaśān acikradat* (RV. *avīvaśat*) RV. SV. AV. The SV. is really inexplicable; AV. attempts to rationalize it. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 279. On the much discussed *krāṇā* see last *RVRep.* 136.

devair nyuptā (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

aktam (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu (viyantu) vayah* TS. MS. KS. * TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. And others, see §96. The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small'. It is hard to apply this meaning here; perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'.

asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṇīḥ (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś. The riming synonyms *karīṣa* and *purīṣa*; cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 16. 409ff. Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś.

kriyanta (TB. *priyā ta* [so divide]) *ā barhiḥ* (TB. Conc. °*his*, Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *śīla* RV. AV. KS. TB. Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

vāhaḥ (TB.† °*ha*). 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB., are pleasing to thee); sit upon the barhis.' [pra so agne tavotibhiḥ] *swirābhis* †*tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) *vājabhar-mabhiḥ* (SV. TS. °*karmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS.
sugandhiṃ (AV. *subandhuṃ*) *pativedanam* AV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *sugandhiṃ puṣṭivardhanam* (KS. *rayipoṣaṇam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. Vait, LŚ. N. The AV. changes *sugandhiṃ* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*).

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gir*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *yaj* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise); and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat. *grātus*); see e.g. RV. 1. 15. 3, 3. 6. 10, 10. 15. 6. On the other hand *yaj* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*); see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhrling* 115ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 408ff. In the third variant *abhipūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣṭam* which recalls *iṣṭāpūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS. seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facilior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance:

indro yajvane prṇate (AV. *gr°*) *ca śikṣati* (AV. °*te*) RV. AV. TB.
sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prṇāhi (PG. *prṇīhi*, KS. *tad grṇīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ.
 PG. HG.

iṣṭam vītam (AV. *pūrtam*) *abhiḡūrtam* (AV. °*pūrtam*) *vaṣaṭkṛtam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. [Delete in Conc. reference to AV. under *iṣṭam vītam* . . .]

§153a. The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182-6):

somasya drapsam (AV. *bhakṣam*) *avṇīta pūṣā* (AV. *śakraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit; it is hard to see any reason for preference.

hṛtsu kratuṃ varuṇo (MS. °*ṇam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS. †TS. †MS. KS. ŚB.†

5. PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*; the combinations *dy* and *jy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156.

c and *t*

§155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*:

yajñasyāyur anu saṁ caranti (AŚ. *tarantu*) TS. AŚ. Cf. *yajñayur anusaṁcarān* TB. ApŚ.

na tad (AV. *nainam*) *rakṣāṁsi na piśācās caranti* (VS. °*cās taranti*, AV. °*cāḥ saḥante*) RVKh. AV. VS. But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh. as VS.

achinnam tantum anu saṁ tarema (TA. *carema*) AV. TA. Comm. on AV. *car*°.

śamyāḥ prataratām (Vait. °*tā*) *iva* (MŚ. *pracaratām iha*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§156. The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects:

sā śantāti (SV. °*tā*; TB. ApŚ. °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB.

ApŚ. The TB. ApŚ. reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in -*ācī*, fem. to -*āñc* (like *prācī*); so, perhaps, the comm. understood it (*aniṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī*). But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel. Cf. next.

arciṣātrīṇo nudatam praticah AV.: *arciṣā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* AG
Here in the secondary AG. we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding.

satyaujasā . . . TS. MS. KS: *sacetasau* . . . AV. See §305. Here we suspect that AV. is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*.

agre (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. °*śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

jagdhā vitṛṣṭir (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . HG. ApMB. And others, see §634. Oldenberg on HG. assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'.

divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ.: *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *varṭayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.—AVPpp. reads *varcayatā* (: *varcas*).

vācam (RV. AV. *vātaṁ*) *viṣṇuṁ sarasvatīm* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *viṣṇuṁ vācam sarasvatīm* KS. *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*; note that KS. places it next to that word. AV. comm. also has *vācam*.

śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam (TB. *vicar°*) RV. TB. The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato*. Comm. regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar!* (*viśeṣeṇa tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*).

yuktās tisro vimrjaḥ sūryasya PB.: *yunajmi tisro viprcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *vivrtaḥ sūryaḥ save, or savah*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf. next. See §57.

j and *t*

§157. Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants; the phonetic aspects are faint:

śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣaṁ svāhā* PB. ApŚ. *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary. *tato yajñas tāyate viśvadānīm* KS. MŚ.: *tato yajño jāyate viśvadāniḥ* TB. ApŚ. *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf. e.g. RV. 7. 10. 2, 9. 102. 7, 10. 90. 15. It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss. but one of MŚ. as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect. fac. *jāyate*.

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB. ApŚ. *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. *yajñam ṛtuthā* is supported by RV. 1. 170. 5, 8. 44. 8; but in RV. 2. 3. 7 the two points of view blend in *ṛju yakṣataḥ . . . yajantāv ṛtuthā*. They are in fact nearly synonymous.

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamati (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

c and *d*

§158. Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*; in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*:

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

girā-girā ca dakṣase (KS. *cakṣase*) RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. PB. ApŚ.

sadā (MS. *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

NṛpU. and other Up. One ms. of KS. has *sadyā!*

ajaiṣmādyāsanāma ca (AV. *°sanāmādyā*) RV. AV. *ca* and *adya*.

j and *d*

§159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *jy* in the roots *dyut*, *jyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *jyām* and *jman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence:

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. °*rīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ava jyām iva dhanvanah SV. Vait. Kauś. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvinah* HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29.

upa jmann upa vetase VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *upa dyām upa vetasam* AV. Vait. Kauś. The absurd AV. reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism; see Whitney's note.

pavamānah so adya nah RV. VS.: *pav° svarjanaḥ* (*suvar°*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. HG. BDh. In a secondary lect. fac., *dy* becomes *j*.

imaṇ (MS. *imaṇ ca*, VS. TS. ŚŚ. *ya imaṇ*) *yajñaiṇ svadhayā* (KS. AŚ. °*yā ca*, MS. *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ. *yajante*, ŚŚ. *bhajante*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

daivyāya dhartre joṣṭre (MS. *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary.

uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt (HG. °*sāham*; ApMB. °*vādi pṛtanāji*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. If ApMB. is correct (v. l. °*vāji* is recorded) it is a hyper-Sanskritic absurdity; no form of root *vad* can be concerned here.

prati śma (AV. *śma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.

ichanto 'paridākṛtān ApMB.: *īpsantaḥ parijākṛtān* HG. See critical notes on HG. 2. 3. 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable. Oldenberg on HG., 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently understanding °*jāgṛtān*.

eruṇ tundānā (TS. *peruṇ tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV. TS. Roots *tuj* and *tud* are practically synonyms. See Whitney on AV. 6. 22. 3, Keith on TS. 3. 1. 11. 8, and cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 1. 45. 4. The AV. comm. reads *tuñjānā*.

mā na āyuh param avaraṇ mānadonaiḥ MS.: *mā nah param adharaṇ* (MŚ. *†adhanaiḥ*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. See §836.

j and *dh*

§160. Only lexical variants:

mātā yad vīraṇ dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS. *jajanaḥ janiṣṭham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS. to suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janiṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded: 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son'. Cf. the following similar variant.
oṣadhībhyah paśubhyo me dhanāya (TS. *paśave no janāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ.† MŚ.
athāsya madhyam ejatu VS. LŚ.: *athāsya* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA.

y and *d*

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense). The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f.) on the other.
sūyavasīnī manave (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*syē*; TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.
dīšo (TB. *yaśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇāḥ* (TB. °*ṇām*) TB. AŚ. Note that *d* is followed by *i*.

6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies. We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS. *kakuc*) *chandaḥ*, where the TS. reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178:

tasyās te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyaś carameṇa paśunā krīṇāmi TS.: *parameṇa paśunā krīyase* (MS. *krīyasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Corruption in TS.; see Keith. Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning.

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. See §86.
vāyosāvitra (MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163. In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7). There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid. §148a; cf. especially §133, note); and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid. §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence. Namely: dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §§218–25); some dialects show the reverse tendency. Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds. Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals *ṇ* and *n*, except when *ṇ* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54).

§164. We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit. Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV. We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3. 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

avatasya (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV.

iṣkṛtāhāvam avatam RV.: *niṣkṛtāhāvam avaṭam* TS. ApŚ.

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable; it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously: *ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramataṇḍaś ca* ApMB.

manthākako (HG. *maṇḍākako*) *ha vaḥ pūtā* HG. ApMB.

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS. KapS. may be due to the preceding *ṛ*.

aṭamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS.: *ailaṇṛdā* (MS. *°mṛdā*, KapS. *īlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*; MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241.

Cf. also *ahar* (MS. *vahad*, v. l. *vahad*, p.p. *vahaṭ*) *divābhīr* (MS. *divyābhīr*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. See §§272, 272a.

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *paṇ*, *pan*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 199ff. For attempts to explain *paṇ* as going back to an IE. root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note:

sā me satyāśīr devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarā paṇyāt paṇyatarā (KS. *paṇyāt paṇyatarā*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Cf. Durga on N. 6. 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form *paḍbhis* which varies twice with *padbhis* has been explained in this way; this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr. plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 11. 350ff.; *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff.; Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63. 300ff.; Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 228ff.:

uro vā padbhir (Kauś. *paḍbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś. SMB. °*ta*, but Jørgensen °*te*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

padbhiś (ApŚ. *paḍbhiś*) *caturbhir akramūt* AV. ApŚ. One ms. at AV. 3. 7. 3 also *paḍbhiś*; but Ppp. *pad*°.

§167. In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *rah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual; see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS. has *ditya-rāt* and *turya-rāt* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-rāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*:

paṣṭhavād (TS. °*vād*) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

paṣṭharāt (TS. °*rāc*) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS. omits *me*, twice) VS. TS. MS. KS.

§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*; in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*:

grhā mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. *vepiḍhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present.

purovāta (KS. °*to*) *jīnva rāvaṭ* (KS. *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS. KS.: *purovāta varṣaṇ jīnvar āvṛt svāhā* TS. ApŚ. And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapati* etc.; all in TS. 2. 4. 7. 2, MS. 2. 4. 7, KS. 11. 9; all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaṭ* etc. in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *ṭ* in MS. is due to an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS. (which divides badly, *jīnvar-āvṛt* for *jīnva-rāvṛt*); the dental *t* of KS. might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf. §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.

vikrīda (VS. °*dra*, KS. °*ḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. KS.: *vyakṛḍa vilohita* MS. Obscure epithets of Rudra; cf. TB. *ati-kirīṭa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS. and MS. The dental of TS. may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions. First, the ritualistic root *īḍ* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV. substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *īḍ* 'revere':

agnim īḍita (SV. *indhīta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV.

yaṁ sīm (SV. *sam*) *id anya īḍate* (SV. *indhate*) RV. SV.

The same *īḍ* figures along with the similar *vīḍ* (and adjective *vīḍu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

tigmam anīkaṁ viditaṁ sahasvat AV.: *tigmam āyudham vīḍitaṁ* (KS. °*dham īḍitaṁ*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. In AV. *viditaṁ* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīḍitaṁ*; certainly KS. *īḍitaṁ* is equally secondary.

dhiṣaṇe vīḍu (VS. VSK. *vīḍvī*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īḍite*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vīḍayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īḍethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *vīḍū* or *vīḍvī* 'firm'; *vīte* 'pleasant'; *īḍite* 'revered'. KS. is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness. KapŚ. has *īḍite vīḍayethām*.

§170. The rest are sporadic:

pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāḥ (VSK. °*yāt*) RV. VSK.: *pari no heḍo varuṇasya vṛjyāḥ* RV. *heti* and *heḍas* are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, *RVRep.* 573.

dīvo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ.: *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ. †*niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vītaṣṭhe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. See §156.

yajñam (KS. *yajñīyā*) *yajñam prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS. † ŚŚ. † °*yadbhyaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi °*yad*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary.

sarasvatyā (AV. °*yām*) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; AV. *maṇāv*; SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuḥ* (KS. SMB. Jørgensen, *acarkṣuḥ*, SMB. Conc. *carkṛdhi*, KS. v. l. *acark*°) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc. of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV. (loc. of *maṇi*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone').

aṣṭadhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB. *mīḍhuṣe*) RV. TB. N.

ghṛtaṁ duhānā vīśvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīnāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. See §198.

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. *nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo viyanti susico na vānīḥ* MS. KS.

mā no agniṁ (p.p. *agniḥ*) *nīrṭtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS.: *mā no rudro nīrṭtir mā no astā* TA. See §87.

In ŚŚ. 17. 12. 1 *sarrā vinudya samtrdyah* (cf. critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals.

8. DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171. Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*; we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff., 122).

dh and *bh*

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too:

bhadrād abhi (AV. Kauś. *adhi*) *śreyah prehi* AV. TS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV.

brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhi*°) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*) *svāhū* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ* MG. See Stenzler's Translation of AG. 2. 4. 14 (p. 73, n. 2), and the critical note on MG. 2. 8. 6.

tayor devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ ApŚ.: *tasyām devā adhi saṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB.: *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

viśvārasur abhi tan no grṇātu RV. TA.: *vīrebhīr adhi tan no grṇāno* etc. MS.

samānamūrdhnīr abhi (PG. *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS. MS. KS. PG.: *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV.

tr̥tīye †dhāmāny abhy (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA. Mahān U. *idaṁ* (PG. *imaṁ*) *tam adhitiṣṭhāmi* (PG. MG. *abhi*°) ŚŚ. AG. MG. PG. *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV. *abhi*) *saṁ punāmi* (AV. *punāti*) RV. AV.

na vai śvetasyādhyaṅāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāṅāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyāṅāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyāṅāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vrdhānaḥ (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG.

ṛṣiṇām putro adhirāja eṣaḥ (AŚ. *avirāja eṣaḥ*; AV. *abhiṣastipā u*; VS.

ŚB. *abhiśastipāvā*; TB. *abhiśastipā ayam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TB. AŚ. SMB. N.

yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati (KS. MŚ. *rājādhi*°) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§173. As the roots *skabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer *śubh* (five times); Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency:

tena mā saha śundhata (AV. *śumbhantu*) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.

tāni brahmā tu (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*; ApMB. *śaṁsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

śumbhantām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ AV.: *śundhantām* etc. VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. MŚ.: *śundhatām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

śumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuh pra moṣiḥ AV.: *śunddhi* (*śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

āpaḥ śundhantu (AV. *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasaḥ* AV. VS. KS. ŚB. TB. *antaḥ śubhrāvata* (SV. *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *śudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*:

asūśubhanta (TS. TB. *asūśudanta*) *yajñiyā rtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhīta* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hīta* and *bhṛta*, §118:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitām dadhātu* TB.

garbha iva (SV. KU., Poley's ed., *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhiniḥbhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

dhartāras (ApMB. *bhar*°) *te* (MG. *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB. ApMB. MG.

bhakṣimahi (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣimahi*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuro vasānāḥ* TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. *bhyām adhamat*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

nikīrya (MŚ. KŚ. *niḡīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ. *madhvaḥ*, Vait. *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ. *sarvā ādhīḥ*) KŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.
avikṣobhāya (KS. **kṣodhāya*) *paridhīn dadhāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'For non-disturbance': 'for non-hunger'. KS. makes inferior sense.
andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambhaḥ* (TS. ŚŚ. *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha°* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. *andhaḥ* '(soma-) juice': *ambhaḥ* 'waters'.
bhañsaso (ApMB. *dhvañsaso*) *vi vrhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Here ApMB. is meaningless.

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*:
vi senābhīr dayamāno (SV. *bha°*) *vi rādhasā* RV. SV. *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra. Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean.
bhūrṇim (MŚ. v. 1. *tūrṇim*) *devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidrñham acyutam pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidrñho 'cyutaś cyārayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Quasi-synonyms: 'establishing', 'saving'.

§178. Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud*. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS. and TB. use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf. Weber, *IndSt.* 13. 109, Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii):

kakup (and, *trikakup*) *chandaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandaḥ* TS.

kakup (TB. *kakuc*) *chanda ihendriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB.

apām napād āsuheman ya ūrmīḥ kakudmān . . . (MS. *ūrmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakubhvān . . .*, KS. *ūrmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakudmān . . .*) TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo . . . yo va ūrmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakunmān . . .* VS. VSK. ŚB. *brhaty uṣṇihā kakup* (TS. *kakut*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

d and *b*

§179. A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks:

ambā ca bulā ca . . . MS. MŚ.: *ambā dulā . . .* TS.; cf. *ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā* TB. 3. 1. 4. 1.

Another lexical variant:

abaddham mano . . . TS. KŚ BDh.: *adabdhām mana* (MŚ. *cakṣur*) . . .
MŚ. ŚG.

t and *p*

§180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies:

tiro rajāṇsi asprtaḥ (SV. *astṛtaḥ*) RV. SV. Both mean 'unconquerable'.

The RV. version occurs also with accusative *asprtam*, 8. 82. 9b. *ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ* (AV. °*sātāḥ*) RV. AV. Cf. RV. 1. 179. 2a, *ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV. reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV. ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the *ṛta*').

matasrāsaḥ prasupaḥ (SV. °*taḥ*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV. Epithets of Soma.

The SV. rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm. *prakarṣeṇa sūtāḥ* [!], *abhiṣūtāḥ*). Benfey, 'zeugend' = *pra-su(t)*, but the comm. is right to the extent of connecting SV.'s word with *su* 'press'. The RV. reading is obscure; cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 69. 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *svap*).

vahnīḥ saṁtaraṇo (TA. *saṁpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Practically synonyms; both 'rescuing'.

devair nyuptā (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV. °*tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *vartayatā*) *supesāsā* (AV. MG. *sutejasā*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Nearly synonyms. See §156.

upa (MS. *utā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

mitro (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

sacetasāv (VSK. °*sā*; delete 'MS.' in Conc.) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau sacetasau* TB.: *samokasau sacetasā arepasau* MS.: *samokasāv* (KS. °*sā*) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś. The TB. has a lect. fac. to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm. *ekakarmapravartakau bhūtvā*).

yo gopā api (TB. ApŚ. *gopāyati*) *taṁ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood.'

suśevam somapitsaru (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *suśīmam somasatsaru* AV.—Ppp. (Roth) *suśevam* (intending *suśevam*) *somapitsalam*. For *suśīmam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption. Whitney and Keith regard the TS. reading as the correct one; in that case the reading °*pitsaru* would contain dissimilation. But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading. With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf. *paśu-śá*, *priya-sá*, both RV.); both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd. would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

dhīpsyañ vā sañcakara janebhyaḥ MS.: *adīsan vā sañjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. 'Intending to deceive': 'not intending to give'. Others, §45. *āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. KSA. MS. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter is wholly secondary; see §820.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. In AV. desid. of *ā* + *ṛdh*; but comm. *ecchamānaḥ*, which suggests that TA. intends *iccha*° (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*). MS. has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*.

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikītsati (vijugupsate) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. KU. IśāU. See §45. Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*; see §182.

n and *m*

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals. Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mi* and *ni*; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

pratilāmīti (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language.

The rest are scattering:

agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ samasanād ekaḥ TS.: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko . . . sanāsanād ekaḥ* MŚ. TS., 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MŚ. form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad*. Both uncertain. Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned.

mademendrañ (MS. *maden*°) *yajamānaḥ svarkāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *maden*°, without justification; the opt. *madema* is probably the original form. The other, with instr.

sg. *madena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence. Assimilation or dissimilation in MS.?

kad va ṛtaṁ kad anṛtam (SV. *amṛtam*) RV. SV. See Benfey's note in his translation of SV., which is obviously secondary.

jīvaṁ (ApMB. *jīvāṁ*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV. *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV. °*ram*) RV. AV. ApMB. Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'.

abhīmaṁ (TS. °*mām*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. l. °*mā*) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness'; in the secondary VS. *mahimā* (acc. to Mahīdhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject.

jāmīṁ (KS. †*camī*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmīṁ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. The MŚ. is clearly secondary.

akṣāṇām vagnum (MS. †*vagnum*, AV. *gaṇam*, read *gatnum*) etc., AV. MS. TB. TA. See §832.

pīeva putraṁ jarase nayemam (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. See §835.

nen na ṛṇān . . . TA.: *nem na ṛṇān . . .* MS. See §180. Particles *id* and *īm*.

śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś (SV. MS. *śra*°) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca †kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *kṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections.

1. *ch* varying with *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26; and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention *etatsamdaḥ* for *etac chandaḥ* MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; *āvr̥chata* for *āvr̥tsata*, ibid. 1, p. 18, n. 7; *itsata* for *ichata* Kauś. 73. 15; *patsaḥ* for *pacchaḥ* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR., s. vv. *kaputsala*, *ucchādana* etc. The pāda *parivādaṃ parikṣavam*, AV. Nakṣ., is read *parichavaṃ* in many AV. mss.; see Laninān's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnnā maruto ghr̥tena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh.'s mss. and most of SPP.'s, tho SPP. reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdñā* with three mss. and comm. (Ppp., Barret JAOS 32. 366, has *ukṣantūñā*, emended by Barret to °*ūdñā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samr̥chātai*, TA. 2. 4. 1c, the mss. at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samr̥tsūtām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA. reading.—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV. *kṣu*, as for **pśu* (: *paśu*), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss., concern *kṣ* and *ch*:

vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA. °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV I p. 29.

somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither'. SV. is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology.

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. *anu-yam* 'guide'; *abhi-rakṣ* 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms; but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV. is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics. The RV. original is much more neat and pointed.

achalābhiḥ (KSA. *acharābhiḥ*, MS. *atsarābhiḥ* in p.p., *matsarābhiḥ* in s.p., VS. *rkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. MS. TS. KSA. In AV. 10. 9. 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v. l. *ṛtsarā*, which is supported by Ppp. The word is a name for a part of the horse's body; its original form is quite unknown. Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs. Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f.

§185. For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find:

namaḥ kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaśca vo namaḥ MS. KS.: *namo grtsebhyo grtsapatibhyaśca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. See §45.

In AV. 19.34.2a the mss. read mostly *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśīḥ* (v. l. *yā gr°*; Berlin ed. *akṣakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp. reads (with slight corruption, Barret, *JAOS* 44. 262) *yāḥ kṛcchrās*. For the true Śaunakīya reading see §192.

§186. For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this:

ichanto 'paridāktān ApMB.: *īpsantaḥ pariḥāktān* HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *īcha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, *Gott. Nachr.* 1874, 525, note.

2. *sy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h*, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant). All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions. Either reading may be at times the older.

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*:

stomo yajñāś ca (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB.

The TB. awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it; comm., *yajñena tvam ārādhaniyāḥ*.—Here the nominative is the original form; in the next two it is secondary to the genitive:

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In AG. the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda. Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG. makes good sense; a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udīthah sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS. °*ṇāu*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. °*tan*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

The Conc. unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB. as an error; it is a nom. sing., replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS. to match the complementary nom. sing. *sūryaś* which follows; cf. Edgerton, KZ 43. 110ff.

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādataḥ AV.: *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ.

§189. In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant; again the movement may be in either direction:

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV. *supratīkah sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding. Agni is meant both times. See Whitney on AV. 5. 27. 1.

dhiyā martah śasamate (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. The SV. has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza; see VV I p. 164.

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. Conc. suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS. No doubt PG. is original ('let glory and fortune find me'). But ArS. makes *yaśo* object; and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive: 'let him find glory of fortune'.

vīprasya dhārayā kavīḥ RV.: *vīpraḥ sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. In SV. the stem *vīpra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutaḥ*, for RV. *kavīḥ*, which is a synonym of *vīpra* and which SV. contains in the preceding pāda.

somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ RV.: *somaḥ sutaḥ sa madhumān* SV. Like the prec.; the genitives are (so naturally!) made to agree with *somaḥ*.

yunajmi tisro viprcāḥ sūryasya te (MŚ. *vīrtaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApS. MŚ.: *yuktās tisro vimrjāḥ sūryasya* PB.—MŚ. is clearly corrupt.

mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV. in translating.

3. Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kś*, and *khy*

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118. Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kś*. For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS., and once in KS., is spelled *kśā*; cf. von Schroeder, Introduction to MS., p. XLIII. In fact the mss. vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition. This writing is also known to the grammarians.

anukhyātre (KS. *°kśātre*) *namaḥ* KS. GB. Vait. KŚ. The *kś* of KS. (both mss.) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*.

vy akhyan (MS. *akśan*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV.* TS. *mahiṣaḥ s(u)vaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The mss. of MS. vary; p.p. *akhyat*. AVPpp. agrees with RV.

indra ṛbhukṣā marutaḥ parī khyan (MS. *kśan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. All mss. of MS. here *kṣyān*; p.p. *khyan*.

anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat (MS. MŚ. *akśat*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. All mss. of MS. *akṣat* or *akṣyat*; p.p. *akhyat*. But most mss. of MŚ. *akśat*.

vikhyāya (MS. *vikśāya*) *caṣuṣā tvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svaṛ abhīvyakhyān (MS. MŚ. *°kśān*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ.: *svaṛ* (KhG. *sur*) *abhīvyakhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.

nṛcakṣasān tvā deva soma sucakṣā ara khyeṣam (MŚ. *kśeṣam*) TS. MS. *duścakṣās te mārakśat* (KS. text with one ms. *°kṣat*, v. 1. *°khyat*) MS. KS.: *taṁ te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS.† (so read). Whatever be the writing of KS., the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*.

§191. In the following the reverse condition is found; the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*:

yas te agne sumatiṁ marto akṣat (AV. *akhyat*, v. I. *akṣat*) RV. AV. If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form). *viśvākṣaṁ* (MahānU. °*khyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA. MahānU. No doubt *viśvākṣaṁ* 'having eyes all over', is the original; but *viś-rākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'.

idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ (ŚŚ. *prakhya°*) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Both TB. and TA. comms. derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)'; and similarly Caland on ApŚ. Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up'. In any case the ŚŚ. (all mss.) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense.

4. *j* and *y* exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b; and above, our §§156, 159, 161. The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss.; e.g. in AV. 3. 11. 6 several mss. read *javam* for *yuram*, and the comm. evidently had this reading before him. Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts. But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case:

uto (ŚŚ. and GB. Gaastra, *uta*) *padyābhīr yaviṣṭhaḥ* (AB. *ja°*) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. The Berlin ed. of AV. also reads *javiṣṭhaḥ*, against all mss. There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form; the word can only mean 'swiftest'. But only AB. reads so in the mss., while not only AV. and its Brāhmaṇa, GB., but the independent ŚŚ., have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss., regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology. Similarly in the next:

yajñā (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*; GB. Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsaḥ* (*avīcetānāsaḥ*); *yajñād eta sann apuro°*; see §62. Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts.

tato ha jajñe (MŚ. *tato 'haṁ yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *te ha jajñe bhu° gopāḥ* PB. Here the reverse change has occurred; MŚ. is clearly secondary.

śatani yo naḥ śarado ajītān (SMB. Cone. *ajījāt*, comm. *ajījanat*; PG. *jījān*) TS. SMB. PG. But Jørgensen reads for SMB. *ajīyāt*; comm. *ajīyād ajyāt*, *aja gatikṣepaṇayoḥ*, . . . *gamayatv ity arthaḥ*. Three mss. of the text read *ajyāt*. See VV I p. 92f.

saujāmim (ŚG. *sauyāmim*), sc. *tarpayāmi*, AG. ŚG. Here *saujāmim* (so v. 1. of ŚG.) is doubtless original. It is a n. pr.

yajñasya hi stha rtvijā (TB. ApŚ. *rtviyau*) RV. SV. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *yajñasya rtvij-* is established from RV. 1. 1. 1 on.

tisro yahrasya (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*, v. 1. *yah°*) *samidhaḥ pariḥmanah* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary.

īśāno vi śyā (= *śiyā*; TS. *srjā*) *ḍṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS. The two forms are synonyms; TS. is secondary.

jāgrtsyas tripañcāśīḥ AV. 19. 34. 2a, mss. (v. 1. *yā gr°*); R-Wh. *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note. Read either *yā grtsyas*, or better *yāḥ* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*. Cf. §185.

añjanti suprayasaṁ pañca janāḥ RV. MS., 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement': *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ* etc., AVPpp. 2. 74. 1 (Barret, JAOS 30. 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense).

§193. Somewhat remoter are the following:

hrdo astv antaraṁ taj juṣoṣat (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV. KS. TA.—TA. secondary.

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG.

ramayata (KS. °lā) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinaṁ* (MŚ. °taḥ *pretam vājinaṁ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

āśuṁ tvājau (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Corrupt in ApŚ.; Caland translates the KS. reading. Explained in §296.

ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, P.B. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. † 9. 10. 1a, TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG.: *jari cetīd* (mss. *cetīd*, p.p. *cya iti*, *it*) *abhiśriṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

5. Palatal stops and ś(ṣ)

§194. There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency). But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of ś is:

abhy arṣata (AV. Vait. Kauś. *arcata*) *susṭutiṁ garyam ājim* RV. AV. VS. KS. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś. For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *susṭutiṁ* see *RVRep.* 523ff. The AV. variant is a lect. fac. (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*).

§195. The rest concern ś:

pratyāñ janān saṁcukośāntakāle N. in Durga (Roth, *Erläuterungen* 12, n. 4); *pratyāñ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhaḥ* (ŚvetU. and ŚirasU.* *tiṣṭhati saṁcukocāntakāle*) VS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. Dhātup. has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected. *ayasmayaṁ vicrtā* (KS. *viśrtā*, v. l. °*drtā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vi crtā bandhapāsān* AV. The original *vicrtā* means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from *vi-śr* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

viśvasya devī mṛcayasya (ŚŚ. *mṛśa*°) *janmanaḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's *mṛś*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form.

prthivyāḥ saṁprcaḥ (MS. MŚ. °*cas*, VS. ŚB. *saṁsprśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *divaḥ saṁsprśas* (MS. *saṁprcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms.

śvītro (MS. *citro*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. TS. ApMB. Also: *śvītra* (MS. *citra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS. Again the two words are synonyms. Some AV. mss. have *citro* in the first variant; Ppp. ms. *śattro*, Barret *JAOS* 32. 370 em. *śvītro*.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *varlayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

agre (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

ūrdhvacitaḥ (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS. text †*śna*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm., which glosses *sevadhvam*; ŚB. correctly *śra*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Assimilation to *śrayadhvam* in MS. KS.

mṛśase (SV. *mṛjyase*) *parase matī* RV. SV. The change from (*pari*-) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *parase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV. 9. 56. 3.

chlilīpu chlilīṣate ŚŚ.: *aślilīpu ślilīṣate* AV. (mss.; R-Wh. em. *aśīślikṣum śīślikṣate*). Unknown words.

tanūpās (TB. Conc. *tanūpāc*, Poona ed. text and comm. †*tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. The TB. (which obviously reads *tanū-*

napāc) has repeated this word from the preceding pāda, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

6. Miscellaneous

§196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *kṣ* and *bj*:

mahnā jinoṣi (MS. *hinoṣi*) *mahini* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Synonymous rime-words.

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasaṁ* (*haviṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vṛṇānaḥ* (etc.), see §854.

divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. The MS. reading is a riming corruption.

CHAPTER VI. LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects; and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned; and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

p (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original; they are listed in the following:

yas tāni (TA. MahānU. *tad*) *veda sa pītuh* (AV. *sa pītus*, most mss. *pītuh*, TA. *savituh*) *pītāsāt* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pītus* (TA. *savituh*) *pītāsāt* RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father'; cf. Bergaigne 2. 104, 108.

abhiśaster avasparat (SV. *avasvarat*) RV. SV. 'Fight away': 'sound away'; in either case 'protect' (SV. comm. *pālayatu*). But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV. 10. 39. 6, 8. 66. 14.

ṛtasya goptrī tapasaḥ paraspī (SMB. °*vī*, MG. *tarutrī*) SMB. ApMB. MG. *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)'. *parasvī* (also in some mss. of ApMB.) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm. *utkr̥ṣṭadhanarūpā*).

spārḥā (TB. *svāruhā*) *yasya śrīyo dr̥śe* RV. K̐S. TB. And:

spārḥo (TB. *svāruho*) *deva nīyutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB. The TB. reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobblingly, once *suṣṭhu ratham ārūḍhaḥ*, once *svasmād eva prarūḍhāḥ*.

hiraṇyaparṇa śakune PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.: *hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ* HG. Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhahiḥ str̥ṇīta* etc. under §200.

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV.: *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The AV. original: 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven'. Poona ed. of TA. reads *jāmi mitvā mā vivitsi lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*).

- Its comm. regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*). But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v*. *nākro makarah kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*; certainly rightly. **kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'.
- nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam* AV.: *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB. *ava-prj* is the original; it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving. Note *apa*: *ava* also (§201).
- yatrāspṛkṣat* (HG. *yatrā vṛkṣas*) *tanuam* (AV. *tanvo*, HG. *tanuam*) *yatra vāsah* (AV. *yac ca vāsasah*) AV. ApMB. HG. 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment.' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*.
- yamasya dūtaś ce vāg vidhāvati* MS.: *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvati* TA. See §145.
- yunajmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vīrtah sūryaḥ savaḥ*, or *save*) TS. ApŚ. MS. See §57.
- ajāśvaḥ paśupā vājapastyah* (TB. **vastyah*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB., *vastyam grham* (= *pastyam*, see *RVRep.* 58). This, and the lexical statements that *vastyā* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastyā*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped.
- yat paśur* (Kauś. *yad vaśā*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś. *akrata*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG. Kauś. A synonym is substituted in Kauś. *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ. *sarva*°) *svāhā* AŚ. AG. Tho the context is different, AŚ. looks suspiciously like a lect. fac.
- śatāpāsthādya* (read, **sthā gha*, with both Poona edd.) *viṣā pari no vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇah* MS. See §86.
- ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Barret, *JAOS* 35. 88, would keep *pravīṇāḥ*; but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption.
- §199. The one case of *ph:v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement:
- iṣāṁ khr̥galyam śavam* MS.: *iṣāṁ khagalyam śapham* ApŚ. Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS. seems to be correct in *khr̥galyam* (cf. *khr̥gala*, RV.), for which ApŚ. has a Prakritic *ḍπ. λεγ.*

- §200. The *v* reading seems to be original in the following:
- vr̥ṣṭim* (SV.* *pr̥*°) *divaḥ parisrava* RV. SV. (bis). *pr̥ṣṭim* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates; perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr̥ṣ*, §680) may have infected the word.
- mahyaṁ dattvā vrajata* (TAA. *prajātuṁ*) *brahmalokam* AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!
- yathāpaḥ pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. See §60.
- iheha vaḥ svatavasaḥ* (TA. *svatapasah*) RV. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatavas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts.
- tre kratum api vr̥ñjanti viśve* (AV. *api pr̥ñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §57.
- diryaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ* (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS. VS. TS.* ŚB. *vayasā*, MS. TS.* *vayasam*) *br̥hantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on *payasaṁ* (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that *payasaṁ* is for *va*° by Vedic license.
- payasvan māmakaṁ vacaḥ* (AV.* *payah*) RV. AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS. TB. MŚ. have a further alteration: *payasvad vīrudhām payah*.
- amba niṣpara* (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. KapŚ. *nisvara*, MS. *nismara*, p.p. *niḥ*, *smara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS. with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*; but the word is obscure in all forms.
- suvarṇapakṣāya* (MahānU. *suparṇa*°) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original; see under next.
- darbhahiḥ str̥ṇīta haritaiḥ suparṇaiḥ* (KS. †*suvarṇaiḥ*) KS. MŚ.: *hotṛṣadanam haritam hiraṇyayam* AV.: *hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. *suvarṇa-* is certainly original, as AV. shows; cf. preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hiraṇyaparna śakune* etc., §198.
- parivādam parikṣavam* (mss. mostly *parichavam*) AV. Nakṣ.: *parivādam parikṣapam* ApMB. The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB. can hardly be anything but a corruption; one ms. has °*vam*.
- tvaṁ rājāsī pradivah* (VS. VSK. *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. See §64.
- tam ajarebhīr vr̥ṣabhis tava* (ApŚ. *tapa*) *svaiḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. Followed by: *tapā tapīṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV. KS., *tapa tapasra tapasā tapīṣṭha*

ApŚ., which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda. Caland understands *tapa* as a voc., 'O Brennender.'
sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS. *sarvato*) *ṛtvā* (VS. *sarvata sprtvā*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on VS. *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *ṛtvā* 'encompassing'.

anupauhva (ApMB. *anu po 'hva*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayah*) HG. ApMB. In ApMB. *po* intends *vo* (pronoun); HG. is corrupt and obscure. See §732. There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*.

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV. *spṛśantām*, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

jakṣivāṇsaḥ papivāṇsaś ca viśve VS. etc.; the text of VS. is misprinted as *papivāṇsaś*; corrected, p. XXII.]

§201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava*. So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general: *nāpa vṛñjāte* (*nāvapṛjyāte*) . . . see §198.

ava (AV. *apa*) *tasya balaṁ tira* RV. AV. Note that RV. has only *ava-tr*, never *apa-tr*.

apa (TA. ApŚ.† *ava*) *bādhatām duritāni viśvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. Both familiar.

dviṣantaṁ me 'vabādhasva (Poona ed. °*dhāsai*, but v. l. and comm. °*sva*) TA.: *dviṣantam apa bādhasva* SMB. If the Poona ed. text is right, this should be added to VV I §152.

dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.

yat tatraino apa tat suvāmi AV.: *yad atraino ava tat suvāmi* TA.

idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasya pāpmānam ava (ApMB. *apa*) *gūhāmi* HG. ApMB.

yad avāmṛkṣac (ApŚ. *apā*°) *chakuniḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yenāpāmṛsataṁ (SMB. v. l. °*mṛsataṁ*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛsataṁ* *surām* PG.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apah śvetepad āgahi* MG.

ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB. 'va) *pa'lyatām* ApŚ. HG. ApMB.: *mātur anyo 'va padyata* ŚG.

sarvān ava yajāmahe KS.† TB. TA. ApŚ.: *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś. *ava-yaj* is more archaic.

indur indum avāgāt (KS. *avāgan*, MŚ. *upāgāt*, v. l. *apāgāt*) KS. PB. TB. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata (ApMB. *adāstha*) *svāhā* AV. ApMB.: *iyam apa* (v. l. *ava*) *dīkṣām ayaṣṭa* SMB.

apa kṣudham nudatām arātīm TB.: *ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahi* Kauś.

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended; and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB. in the first case:

apāpāco (TB. °*vāco*) *abhībhūte nudasva* RV. AV. AB. GB. TB. But

Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *apāpāco*, clearly correctly.

āyus ca prāyus ca . . . prāñ cāpāñ (ApŚ. *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS. ApŚ.

p and *m*

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them.

§204. The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV. texts, *tam* in Tait. texts:

tapasas (TB. *tamasas*) *tan mahinājyātaikam* RV. TB.

mā tamo (AŚ. *tapo*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ. *tapat*); followed by:

mā yajamānas tamat (AŚ. *yajñapatis tapat*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

§205. The rest are sporadic:

kṣumāsi VS.: *kṣupāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm. on VS. 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup. root *kṣmā(i)*, perhaps confused with *kṣubh-*. Is VSK. influenced partly by *kṣip*?

amba niṣpara (*nismara*, etc.), see §200.

yuktās tisro vimṛjah . . . : yunajmi tisro vipraḥ (vīṛtaḥ) . . ., see §57.

namo 'gnaye prthivikṣite (ChU. MU. *prthivī*°) *lokaṣṛte* (MU. °*smṛte*, ChU. °*kṣite*) TS. KSA. ApŚ. ChU. MU. And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite . . . , nama ādityāya (namaḥ sūryāya, nama ādityebhyaś) . . .*, each time with MU. alone reading *lokaṣṛte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokaṣṛte* is original; Deussen renders MU. 'Weltgewährer', seemingly having °*sṛte* in mind.

āñjanena sarpiṣā sañ viśantu (AV. *sprśantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra SMB.: *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ. †*ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG. See §78.

viśvā sprdho (AV. *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV. AV. TA.

b and *v*

§206. This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*; see Wackernagel I §161. The mss. are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*pivāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12. 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are:

carmevāvādhus (TB. °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB. understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed. of TB. has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm. even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitarantaḥ*.

devīm aham nirṛtiṃ bādhamānaḥ (TS. *vandamānaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS. doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS.; but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

yatra-yatra vibhrto (KS. *bīhrato*) *jāta-redāḥ* AV. KS.: *yatra-yatra jāta-redaḥ sambabhūtha* (TB. *saṃbabhūva*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*tha*) TB. ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV. (19. 3. 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*; mss. almost all *bībhṛto* or *bībhrato*, tho the comm. reads *vi-*, and so both editions. All three mss. of KS. *bi-* (vv. ll. *bībhṛto* and *bībhyato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛtó* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf. next.

atandrāso yuvatayo tvibhṛtram (TB. Conc. *vibhartram*, Poona ed. text and comm. *bībh°*) RV. TB. Cf. preceding; here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB. comm. *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhr*).

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB. °*padā babhūva*) ApMB. HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB. mss. is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, Introd., xvi.

usrā (MŚ. *usrāv*) *etañ dhūrvāhau* (KS. *dhūrbādhā*) . . . VSK. KS. MŚ. Others, §122.

yāv (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhrto* (KS.† °*tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. °*thah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

[*tujo yujo vanañ* (ŚŚ. text, *balanñ*) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ.: *tuje janā* (ArS. *jane*) *vanañ svaḥ* AV. ArS. This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balanñ* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ.]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Waekernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV.) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV. on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādh* (and perhaps of *bandh*). In several variants, VS. texts (particularly VSK.) seem to favor *badh*; but contrary instances occur:

dviṣato badho (MŚ. *radho*) 'si VS. KŚ. MŚ.

mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn (VSK. *badhīn*) *mā suparṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

twayāyañ vṛtrañ vadhyāt (VSK. *ba*°, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā me dīkṣāñ mā tapo nīr vadhiṣṭa (KŚ. *ba*°) TS. KŚ. MŚ.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hataḥ (VSK. *rakṣo* 'muṣya *tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (SMB. ŚvetU. °mino, Jørgensen °mito for SMB.) *vadhīh* (TAA. SMB. *badhīh*; but Poona ed. of TAA. and Jørgensen's of SMB. both *va*°) RV. TS. MS. KS. TAA. ŚvetU. SMB.: *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino vadhīh* VS.

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB. *avartyai* †*vadhā*°) VS. TB. (so Poona ed.)

nātārīd (TB. °rīr) *asya samṛtiṁ vadhānām* (TB. *ba*°, but Poona ed. *va*°) RV. TB.

ayanam mā vivadhīr (TAA. *vība*°, but Poona ed. text and comm. *vīva*°) *vikramasva* TA. TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS. is surely corrupt (see §260). Apparently MS. MŚ. understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA. has a form of *vr̥dh*:

mā rudriyāso abhi gur vr̥dhānaḥ (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength?'). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root *vr̥*:

indro valaṁ (MS. *balam*) *rakṣitāram dughānām* RV. AV. MS.

tvam valasya (AŚ. *balasya*) *gomataḥ* RV. †1. 11. 5, SV. AŚ.

bibheda valaṁ (AV. AŚ. *balam* but many AV. mss. *valam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

ud valasyābhinat (but all mss. °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ.: *ud balasyābhi nas* (read *balasyābhinas*) *tvacam* MŚ. The form *abhinas* is for *abhinat*, 2d person imperf., with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s*. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhinas*.

yo gā udājad apa (MS. *api*) *hi valaṁ* (MS. *balam*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

indro yad abhinat valam (GB. *balam*, but Gastra *valam* with most of his mss.) RV. AV. SV. AB. GB.

sa bibheda balam (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *valam*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc., have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity:

pīvo vr̥kka ulārathih RV. KS.: *pībasphākam ulārathim* AV. In AV.

Shankar Pandit prints *pībaspākam* (comm. *pīvaspākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss. Ppp. has *pivassākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 191, em. *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam*. Cf. Whitney on AV. 4. 7. 3, 17. 3, and Index Verborum of AV. under *pīb°* and *pīv°*.

prapharvyam ca pīvarīm VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *pībarīm ca prapharvyam* AV. (comm. *pīv°*; Ppp. according to Roth reads like VS. etc. except *prapharvyām*).

neva māṁse na pībasi AV.: *naiva māṁsena pīvari* PG.—SPP. with some mss. and comm. reads *pīvasi* in AV.; so also Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 205). PG., tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc. sing. fem. of *pīvan*).

§212. In the root *vrh* or *brh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *brh* 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf. §215). Later, *brh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vrh* is the real reading of all texts; Weber erroneously prints *brh*- in TS. against nearly all his mss.

ādityās tvā pra brhantu (most mss. *vrh°*) . . . TS.: *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vrhāmi* . . . KS.: *ādityebhyas tvā pra vrhāmi* . . . MS. Add to VVI §312.

vasavas tvā pra vrhantu (TS. ed. *brh°*, most mss. *vrh°*) *gāyatreṇa chandasā* TS. ApŚ.

§213. There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*): *bandhura*; RV. always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep.* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole': *trivandhuro* (TB. *triban°*; Poona ed. *trivan°*, comm. *triban°*) *manasā yātu yuktah* RV. TB. (in Conc. by error, TS.) MS.

ā yāhy arvāṇ upa vandhureṣṭhāḥ (GB. AA. *ban°*; but Gaastra and Keith in both *van°*) RV. AB. KB. GB. AA. ŚŚ.

pra nūnam pūrṇavandhura (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *°ban°*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, LŚ.

ratham hiraṇyavandhuram (TA. *sahasraban°*; but Poona ed. text and comm. *°van°*, with v. l. *°ban°*) RV. TA.

trivandhureṇa (KS. *triban°*) *trivṛtā rathena* RV. KS.

§214. In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original:

vahiṣṭhebbhir (MS. *ba*°) *viharan yāsi* (TB. *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona ed. text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*.

etad brahmann upavalhāmāsi (AŚ. *apa*°, LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ. It is perhaps a form of *vṛh*, §212.

capyam (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālah* (KS. *vārah*, TB. *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra*. The converse of this in the variant *kūr̥kuro bālabandhanaḥ* (*vāla*°), where properly *bāla* 'child'; §215.

Original *b*

§215. In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original. The VS. texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209). First, three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older::

savitṛprasūtā brhaspataye (PB. LŚ.* *ṭvṛh*°) *stuta* GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Twice in LŚ., once printed *vṛ*° and once *br*°, but comm. both times *vṛ*° which must be correct (since quoted from PB. which has *vṛ*°).—On the other root *vṛh*, 'tear', see §212.

kūr̥kuro bālabandhanaḥ (ApMB. *vāla*°) PG. ApMB. Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat as a child).

ya ābabhūva (PB. *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāh*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Tho PB. comm. repeats the incredible *ābababhūva*, it is doubtless corrupt.

§216. In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown:

yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS. TB. TA. *cakara*) *kilbiṣāṇi* (TA. *kilv*°, but Poona ed. *kilb*°) AV. MS. TB. TA.

viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt AV. MS.: *sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (VS. °*kilv*°, LŚ. *eva kilb*°) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.

kṛte yonau (KS. *kṛto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS. ŚB. *vījam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

basto (VS. *vasto*) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

dhamanti bākuraṁ (JB. *vā*°) *dṛtim* RV. JB.

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS. texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *paḍbīśa* or *°vīśa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV., which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form *°vinśa*, *JAOS* 51. 170:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya paḍbīśāt* (VS. *°vīśāt*, LŚ.† *ṣaḍvinśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

saṁdānam arrantaṁ paḍbīśam (VS. MS. *°vīśam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. *yac ca paḍbīśam* (VS. MS. *°vīśam*) *arrataḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Here the sole ms. of KS. has *°vīśam*.

§218. Two variants contain the word *bāṇa* or *vāṇa* 'arrow', both Rigvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner:

yatra bāṇāḥ (VS. *vāṇāḥ*) *saṁpatanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG.

viśalyo vāṇavān (TS. *bā°*, MS. *bāṇavañ*, KS. *bāṇavān*, NilarU. *vāṇavān*) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU.

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin: *māgadhaḥ puñścaliḥ kitavaḥ klībo* . . . (VSK. *puñścaliḥ klīvaḥ kitavo* . . .)

te prājāpatyāḥ VS. VSK. *klība* appears to be commoner.

digbhyo vaḍabe (KSA. *vaḍave*) TS. KSA. *baḍabā* and *vā°* are also found. *dr̥vāsi* VS.: *dr̥bāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed; said to mean 'piercing' (root *dṛ*).

kṣatrasyoḷbam (VS. TB. *°vam*, but TB. Poona ed. *°bam*) *asi* VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both common; RV. knows only *b* (once). *viśvarūpā śabalīr* (KS. *śavaly*) *agniketuh* TS. KS. PG. *b* is commoner.

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS. *°dhebhyo*) *baṣkikhān* (MS. *vaṣ°*, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Rare and obscure.

subīraṇa (HG. *suṽīriṇaḥ*) *sr̥ja-sr̥ja* (ApMB. adds *śunaka*); and,

śunām agraṁ subīraṇaḥ (HG. *suṽīriṇaḥ*) HG. ApMB. Anomalous name of a dog-demon. The ApMB. mss. are discordant.

aulaba (HG. *°va*) *it tam upā hwayatha* (HG. *°ta*) HG. ApMB. In same context as the preceding.

bh and *v*

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior:

viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS. *°nā vicaṣṭe*) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo*

bhuvanā vicaṣṭe AV. Cf. *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV.

devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi tasthe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe* MŚ.

mandrābhūtiḥ (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur . . .* TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *aśrīmukho rudhīreṇābhyaktaḥ* (TA. °*avyaktaḥ*) MS. TA. *abhyaktaḥ* 'smeared', is clearly original. TA. comm. understands *a-vyaktaḥ* (not *ā-*), explaining *īdrgjātir iti niṣcetum āśakyāḥ*.

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *ārṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other; see Whitney on AV. 6. 125. 2:

vanaspatibhyaḥ pary ābhṛtam (MS. *ārṛtam*) *sahaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

apām ojmānam pari gobhir āṛṛtam (AV. *ābhṛtam*), same texts. SPP. with some mss. and comm. *ārṛtam* for AV.

§222. The rest are sporadic:

yamīr yamasya bibhṛyād (AV. *vīrḥād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. *vīrḥād* is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense. See Whitney's note.

ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva AV.: *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva* ApŚ. See *AJP* 27. 413; Caland on ApŚ. 7. 17. 2.

adr̥hathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles'. The MŚ. assimilates the last word in meaning to *śarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'.

bhaṇsaso (ApMB. *dhvaṇsaso*) *vi vr̥hāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; *dhva*° has a sort of assonance to *bha*°.

v and *m*, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper *JAOS* 13. xcvii ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note.

§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions; but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds. First, with original *v*:

uc chvañcasva (TA. *chmañ°*) *pr̥thivī mā ni bād̥hathāḥ* (TA. *vi bād̥hithāḥ*)
RV. AV. TA. And:

ucchvañcamānā (TA. *ucchmañ°*) *pr̥thivī su tiṣṭhatu* (TA. *hi tiṣṭhasi*) RV.
AV. TA. (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332.) See Waekernagel I §177.

suśīmanī somasatsaru AV.: *suśevanī somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*)
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. Attempts are made to explain *suśīmanī* as *su-sīman*, or from root *śī* with suffix *ma*; but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic.

jyog jīvema sarvavīrā vayanī tama MG. (all mss.): *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayanī tava* RV. AV. SV. MS. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *mā riṣāmā vayanī tava* Vait. GB. AVPpp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 278). The formula *vayanī tava* 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced in MG.; was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible **vayanītama* (as if superlative to *vayas*!)?

ā tvam (GB. *ātman*, Gaastra *ā tvam* with v. l. *ātman*; LŚ. *ā svam*)
indrāya pyāyasva VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ.; its edition is very untrustworthy.) The converse corruption in Kauś. 65. 15, where four of seven mss. read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*.

anamīvāsa iḍayā (MS. *anamīmāsā iḍayā*, but p.p. °*vāsah*, *iḍayā*) *mad-antaḥ* RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a ease of assimilation; but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor's attention. The *pratīka* occurs as *anamīvāsah* later in MS. 4. 12. 6 (197. 8).

nī dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *mahaḥ*, all mss.; ed. em. *vahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

§225. On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following, the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; cf. JB. *pratītam devebhyo juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt*, where °*havyam asthāt* is pretty certainly intended: *ā galdā dhamanīnām* MŚ. N.: *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApŚ. *dhamanī* 'vein' is correct; indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ., see §144. Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu)* = *dhāv* 'run' may have flitted thru the mind of the ApŚ. redactor.

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (TB. *dūtyam vāriṣanyah*) RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. *vāriṣanyo mā rīriṣah* (= *māriṣanyah*!).

punar dātām (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. 'Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life.' The

preceding pāda is *tāv asmabhyam drśaye sūryāya*; perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = *dattām* (*dattau prayachatām*). There is no accent on *dattāv*.

sa mā mṛta (MG. *vṛtat*, one ms. *mṛtam*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *tanī mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG. *mṛta* is required: 'may he not die'.

sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS. *mānā*, SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (*acakṛṣuḥ*, *carkṛdhi*, see §170) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṛṣuḥ* AV. The mss. of SMB. which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption.

bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramṇātu* (TS. ApŚ. *raṇvatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. And:

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *raṇva*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here the verb stem *raṇva* of the Tait. school is based on the adjective *raṇva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS. 1. 3. 7. 1, *raṇva ramanīyaṁ kuru*. See VV I p. 121.

v and *m*, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep.* 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

§227. Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives, interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself:

sīdantu manuṣo yathā RV.: *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV. SV. LŚ. In *RVRep.* 60ff. the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior:

manuṣvad (TB. *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV. TB.

etat tvātra (LŚ. *etat tām*) *pratimanvāno* (AŚ. °*vanvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ.† LŚ. *asmin*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Thinking in reply': 'offering, presenting in return'.

purutrā te manutām (AV. *vanvatām*) *viṣṭhitām jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'Take note of': 'acquire'; *jagat* is subject in RV. etc., object in AV. See VV I p. 266.

suṛitasya manāmahe (SV. *va*^o) RV. SV. 'Have in mind, purpose': 'desire'.
ūrjaṁ bibhrad vasuvaniḥ (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ.* *vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ.* *vaḥ
 suvaniḥ*, ApŚ.* *vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.
 HG. 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive': 'well-minded' or
 'minded to wealth'. Note three different readings in ApŚ. AVPpp.
 has *vasumatih*. Epithet of an owner of a house; all epithets fit well
 enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning
 to the following *sumedhāḥ*.

§228. In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūr*- and *ūrv*- (*urv*-) interchange; perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and not lexical; cf. *ūrmilā*, in the Rāmāyaṇa personified as sister of Sītā, probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is associated with *sītā* 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG. 2. 17. 9; see JAOS 13 p. xcvi:

nama ūrvyāya (MS. *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS. MS. *sūrmyāya*)
ca VS. TS. MS.: *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS. Mahīdhara on
 VS. derives from *urvī* 'earth' with *ū* by Vedic license, or alternatively
 from *ūrva* 'submarine fire'. Keith adopts the first interpretation.
 Neither is plausible, and *ūrmya* is probably the true form; *ūrvya*
 possibly merely a phonetic equivalent.

utsaṁ juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK.
^o*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The com-
 bination *ūrmi madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent: RV. 4. 57. 2,
 58. 1, 7. 47. 2, 96. 5. The vocative *ūrva* in TS. is, as Keith remarks,
 probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean'). This vocative seems fur-
 ther corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS. VSK.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) *svādityā aditaye
 syāmānehasaḥ* (ApŚ. *aditaye 'nehasaḥ*, ŚŚ. *ādityā anehasaḥ*) ŚB. ŚŚ.
 ApŚ. ŚB., 'in the vastness of the Rudras'; ŚŚ., 'in the favor of the
 Rudras'. ApŚ. seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other
 two; *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV.) gives no chance for intelligent interpreta-
 tion.

§229. In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol',
 each is once prior:

mandadvīrāyendave RV.: *vandadvīrāyendave* SV.

maghavan vandiṣimahi (TS. MS. KS. LŚ. *mand*^o) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. LŚ.

§230. The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective
medhya, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known':
vedhām aśāsatu (SV. *medhām ās*^o) *śriye* RV. SV.†

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śrutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms. of RVKh. is to be trusted (note also the corruption *kṛṇvo* for *kṛṇmo* in the ms. of AVPpp.):

asya (KS. and RVKh. Scheftelowitz, *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Scheft. em. *kurmo*; KS. *kṛṇmo*; AVPpp. ms. *kṛṇvo*, for *kṛṇmo*) *harivo medinam* (RVKh. Scheft. *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. KS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret. JAOS 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV. Cf. §263.

§232. The words *mayas* and *rayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas:

hayo dātra edhi vayo (VSK.† ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahitre* (ŚŚ. °*grhṇate*) VS. VSK.† ŚB. ŚŚ. And, in same passage: *prāṇo dātra edhi vayo* (VSK. ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahitre* (ŚŚ. °*grhṇate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. In two accompanying formulas all texts read *mayo*; VS. ŚB. vary the expression with *vayo*.

§233. In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sara* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context:

sahasrasamam prasutena yantaḥ PB. TB. ApŚ.: *sahasrasavaprasavena yantaḥ* MŚ.

tasmā u adya samanā (SV. *savane*) *sutam bhara* RV. AV. SV.

§234. The rest are sporadic:

śrīṇānā apsu mṛṇjata (SV. *mṛṇjate*) RV. SV. Subject is *somāḥ*: 'are purified in the waters'. It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV. alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in RV. Possibly, however, SV. means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis*; cf. Bloomfield, JAOS 35. 273ff.

achā ma (SV. Svidh. *va*) *indram matayaḥ svarridaḥ* (SV. *svaryuvaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Change of person as in *indro vaḥ* (AV. *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS., or in the persons of the verb, VV I §§290, 307. For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns.

amba niṣpara (*niṣvara*, *niṣrara*, *niṣmara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.; see §200.

rdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag utāsamīṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruram ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhruram utāsamīṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā saviṣṭha*) RV. AV. The AV. is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm. and Ppp. *utāsamīṣṭhāḥ*). See §86.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG. *vartayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG. PG. ApMB. HG. *supeśasā*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Injuring': 'moving'. In AV Ppp. we find *varcayatā*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt.

yuktās tisro vimrjah . . . : *yunaḥmi tisro vipraḥ* (*virṭah*) . . ., see §57.

§235. In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter; the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge:

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmīn*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yurase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Tho TB. is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others; comm. *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya miśrikuru*.

drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthivī* in all later texts against RV.

kauberakā viśravāsah HG.: *miśravāsasah kauberakāḥ* ApMB. (probably original).

avimuktacakra (v. l. *°rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *virṭtacakrā āśīnāḥ* HG. ApMB. *sa me mukham pra mārkṣyate* (ApMB. *rekṣyati*) PG. ApMB. 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth.' Probably PG. is original.

āñjanena sarpiṣṭa sañ viśantu (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.—Ppp. (Roth) *viśanta*.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB.: *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG.†: *adho vadādharo vada* HG. ApMB. certainly original; the first form of HG. unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*.

vṛtrasyaṁsi (KS. *mītra°*) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. *°nakah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. *°nakāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ. Secondary change in KS.

anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā (ApŚ. *mṛgaḥ*) AV. ApŚ.

aṣādḥāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N.

mītro (VS. *vipro*) *babhūra saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

pra hañsāsas tṛpalan manyum (SV. *°lā vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV.

kalpantūn te (TA.* *me*) *dīśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA.* *śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)

§236. Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense:

utem anamnamuḥ TS. MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ: *uteva namnamuḥ* KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ.

athem ava sya (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivīyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.

The original is *ava sya* 'set free'; AV. secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam . . . prthivī* (in genitive form).

tuvi-śraṇasaṁ (TS. JB. *tuviṣ-maṇasaṁ*) *suyajam ghṛtaśriyam* RV. TS.

JB. ŚB. MŚ. The RV. supports its reading by numerous instances of *tuvi-śraṇ* (-ī, -as), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds.

viśvavidam (AV. °*vido*) *vācam aśvām-invām* (AV. *aśva-vinnām*) RV.

AV. The AV. change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128.

manmā dīdhyanā utā naḥ sakhāyā MS.: *anvādīdhyanātha iha naḥ sakhāyā*

TB. See the context, quoted VV I p. 163; note that the preceding pāda ends in *m*.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*) *vāṛdhānā* (AV.

°*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyanā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The sūtra texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense: 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'.

bharatam uddhareṁ anuṣiṅca (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

The TB. comm. says that *īm* (in *uddhara-īm*) is for *imam*: *chāndaso 'yam mavarṇalopaḥ*. The corrupt MŚ. reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*.

vatso virājo vṛṣabho maṭinām AV.: *pītā virājām ṛṣabho rayīṇām* TB.

See §359.

v and *m* in inflectional endings

§237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc. sing. and nom.-acc. dual; between nom.-acc. dual and gen. plur.; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss.; thus in Kāuś. 60. 19 two mss. read *manthantām* for *manthantāv*; and in Kāuś. 71. 1 all mss. *aṅśo rājā vibhajatīmām agnī*, where the ed. emends *īmām* to *imāv*.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vanśaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kāuś. Roth quotes Ppp. as *sthūṇā dhī*.

aya(h)sthūṇam (TS. °*ṇāv*) *uditā* (MS. TS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. For the VS. ŚB. form see §188.

putraḥ pitarāv (AV. °*ram*) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* RV. AV. The original dual refers to the Aśvins; AV. has a stupid simplification.

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *striyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. The ŚŚ. is secondary and poor.

apsarasāv anu dattām rṇāṁ yat (TB. TA. *rṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsara-sām anudattātṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, rṇāni*). MS. is hopeless; see VV I p. 282.

idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ (AG. *vatsyāmo bhoḥ*) AG. HG. See VV I p. 249; others on the same page and on pp. 263, 276.

adhr̥ṣṭāṁ dh̥r̥ṣṇvojasam (SV. *dh̥r̥ṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Having terrible strength': 'terrible in strength'.

v and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238. On this subject cf. Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910. The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants. If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular; otherwise the *m* form. In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels; cf. Sturtevant, *AJP* 50. 360ff., *TAPA* 60. 33ff. The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels; and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later. The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant*. Variants occur in the readings of individual mss.; thus at AV. 19. 42. 3 *suṭrām̐* for *suṭrāṁ̐*, and at Kauś. 89.1 four out of seven mss. *manvabhiḥ* for *manmabhiḥ*. We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation.

§239. We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*; once, *varī*):

udyan nakṣatram arcirat (TB. °*mat*) RV. SV. TB. Note that RV. also knows *arcimat*.

tapur yajastu carur agnirāṇ (AV. KS. °*mān*) *iva* RV. AV. KS. N. *agnirāṇ* is read by AVPpp.; *agnimant* not in RV. This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory.

pūṣā jñātīmān . . . ŚG.: *pūṣā jātirin* (read *jñāti°*) . . . Kauś.

tṛtīyasya savanasya ṛbhumato (ApŚ. °*syarbhū°*) . . . *brhaspativato* (KŚ. °*mato*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The majority show *vat* after *i*.

indram ādityavantam . . . *vājarantam brhaspatimantam* (AŚ. °*vantam*) *viśvadevyāvantam āvaha* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here only AŚ. has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has *mant*; *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf. next.

tāsv adhvaryo (ŚŚ. °*yav*) . . . *vājavate bṛhaspativate* (ŚŚ. °*mate*) *viśvade-vyāvate* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*; but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads *-vate*. Note that AŚ. belongs to the school of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB. (cf. prec); the two schools seem to have affected different forms.

puṣpavatīḥ (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīḥ* (AV. KS. °*sūmatīḥ*, TS. °*sūratīḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ViDh. The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem. of *van*; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS. by the still irregular *ratī*, which looks like a blend of the other two.

apām napād . . . *kakudmān* (MS. *kakubhrān*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo* . . . *kakunmān* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. See §178.

hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ. [read] *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. See *AJP* 27. 415.

tveṣaṁ cakṣur dadhīre codayanvati (RV. °*matī*) RV. TB. ApŚ. Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here; *codayan-matī* in RV. is a compound with the noun *matī*: 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel. TB. comm., accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte* (*karmaṇi*).

§240. The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms:

nṛṣadvā (SV. °*mā*) *sīdad apām upasthe* (SV. *apām vivarte*) RV. SV. *sadman* (also RV.) is in the mind of SV.

kṣipreṣave devāya svadhārve (TB. °*mne*) RV. TB. N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman*: *svadhāran*).

ādityānām patvānv (PB. °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA.† *ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Both forms are Rigvedic; cf. next.

āyoh patmane svāhā KS.: *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ. Cf. prec.

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV.

mītajñaro varimann (TB. °*vann*, but Poona ed. *mītajmavo varimann*) *ā prthivīyāḥ* RV. MS. TB. *varivan* is not recorded, unless here.

varṣmā (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, KS. *drāghvā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KapS. *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The curious TS. form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*.

[*āpataye tvā parīpataye gr̥hṇāmī*] *tanūnaptre* (KS. adds *śakmane*) *śak-varāya śakvana* (KS. *śakmann*) *ojiṣṭhāya* VS. KS. ŚB.: *tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ojiṣṭhāya* MS.: *tanū° śakvarāya śakmann ojiṣṭhāya* VSK. In KS. the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'.

abhikhyā bhāsā br̥hatā suśukvaniḥ RV.: *dr̥še* (MS. *dr̥śā*) *ca bhāsā br̥hatā suśukvaniḥ* (KS. *°vabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV.); the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel.

aravyayann asitaṁ deva vasma (TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. explains *vasvaḥ* as acc. sing. of an agent noun, *vāsaitāram āchādakam*. The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvaḥ* as voc. of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB. must be deleted.

prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāḥ (ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāḥ*, AŚ. ed. *bhūmanēṣṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Ppp. has *bhūm°*. The ŚŚ. reading makes good sense: 'thou shalt lead the world'. AVŚ. has *bhuvane-ṣṭhāḥ*.

m and *b*

§241. The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v*. A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *br̥hat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical; see, provisionally, the Conc. under these words.

parā dehi śāmulyam (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *śāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain'. Apparently ApMB. is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted'. See §607.

asambādham badhyato (many AV. mss. *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *°veṣu*) AV. Kauś.: *asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS. Sense and text tradition require *madhyato*. The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney); it is in any case a corruption. This is immediately followed by:

yasyā udvatuḥ pravataḥ samam bahu (MS. *mahat*) AV. MS. Synonyms; cf. *br̥hat*: *mahat*, referred to above. But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.

aiḍamṛdā yavyudhaḥ KS.: *ailabṛdā* (MS. °mṛdā; KapS. *īlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*, MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahīdhara on VS. desperately, 'bringers of food' (:bhr̥taḥ!).
anuṣṭub (°tum) *mitrasya*, see §412.

m and *bh*

§242. The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical:

indra ukthebhīr mandīṣṭhaḥ (ŚŚ. *bhand*°) SV. ŚŚ. Cf. next; the roots are quasi-synonyms.

divas (*dīvaḥ*) *pr̥ṣṭhaṁ* (PB. *pr̥ṣṭhe*) *bhandamānaḥ* (PB. *mand*°) *suman-mabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Practically synonyms.

sarvaṁ taṁ (AV. *sarvān ni*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāṁs tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*, MS. †*mṛsmṛsā*, v. l. *mṛśmṛśā*, VS. *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS.

savitā bhr̥tyām (KS. ms. † *manyām*) TS. KS.; von Schroeder emends to *bhr̥tyām*.

aciṣyāma (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi. syāma*) *vr̥jane viśva ūtī* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vr̥jane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. Corruption if not misprint.

yuktās tisro vim̐jaḥ (*vibh̐r̥jaḥ*) . . ., and others, see §57.

CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *ḍ* which we add at the end of the chapter.

y and *r*

§244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption:

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °*yai*) *rṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KS. AB.

ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV. Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'.

śaṇḍikera (PG. *śaunḍikēya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* PG. HG.: *śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

vāyosāvitra (MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

saṁvatsarāya paryāyīṇīm (TB. *paryāriṇīm*) VS. TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB. *kāmān*) *ayaṁsata* (AV. *araṁsata*) RV. AV. ApMB. *nī-yam* 'settle', and *nī-ram* 'rest'.

prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhīraḥ TS. MS.: *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīraḥ* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'.

apo (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv acāriṣam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. ApMB. MG.: *apo anv acāriṣam* (JB. *†acārṣam*) TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.: *apo divyā acāyīṣam* AV. *anu-car* 'follow after': *cāy* 'fear, revere'.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Stöner on SMB. understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG. Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf. Pali *ayyo*.) One ms. of ApMB. also *cāyyo*. All very doubtful.

yasyedam ā rajo yujaḥ AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajaḥ* AA.: *yasyedam oja*

ārujah ŚŚ. Obscure in all. ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA. seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu) jah*. Or ŚŚ. may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*; *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*.

gohya †*upagohyo marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB. See §81. *sadā yācann aham girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. See §134.

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. See §184.

antaḥ śubhrāvātā (SV. *śundhyāvātā*) *pathā* RV. SV. See §173.

vijye †*viṛye vikṣipet* (p.p. *vi-kṣepe*) MS.: *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ. (Read *vikṣipe* in MS.) According to Knauer (note on MŚ.) these words are vocatives of cow-names. No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.

vanīṣṭhor hṛdayād (AV. **udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

agor arir (SV. *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV. SV. Wholly different words and constructions.

yena bhūyās carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. *bhūyās* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root.

śukraṁ te (TA. **vām*) *anyad yajataṁ* (TA. **raj°*) *te* (TA. **vām*) *anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svidh. N. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *yajataṁ* for *raj°*, but with v. l. *raj°*, which the comm. also reads; he has a labored and worthless explanation.

y and *l*

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup*: *lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see. The other is:

mṛtyoh padanī (MG. *padānī*) *yopayanto* (AV. *°ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

y and *v*

§246. Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements; among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §254.

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV. texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittirīya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV. schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait. texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf. §§338ff.), precisely as e.g. in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāyi* etc.) The *vin* of Tait. texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*; e.g. *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV.) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e; Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp. 211ff.; Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *rṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e:

nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś (TS. °*vibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namaḥ srkāyibhyo (TS. °*vibhyo*, MS. *srgāyi*°) *jighāṁsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo rudrāyātātāyine (TS. °*vine*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

pītāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (TB. ApŚ. °*vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namaḥ* VS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Also with *pitr̥bhyaḥ* and *prapitāmahebhyaḥ*.

ūrjasvatīḥ svadhāyīnīḥ (TS. °*vinīḥ*) TS. KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal; it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait. texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking:

araṅgamāya jagmaye (TB. ApŚ. *jagmave*) RV. SV. TB. Ap., Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait. texts, for regular *jagmi*. *duvasyave* (TA. *duvasvate*) *trā vātāya svāhā* MS. TA. Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvant*; but MS. has v. l. *duvasvate*.

ojasvinī nāmāsi TS. ApMB.: *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS. Again Tait. texts with *v*.

atharya pitum me pāhi VS. ŚŚ.: *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ. †*pāhi*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf. RV. *athari*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait. texts (to be sure also in AŚ.).

tapyatvai svāhā TS.: *tapatyai svāhā* KSA. TA. Stems *tapyatu* (RV.) and *tapatī*. Poona ed. of TA. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*.

ye te agne meḍayo (KS. °*ro*) *ya indavaḥ* TS. KS. Here TS. has the regular *i*-stem *meḍi*, while KS. substitutes an otherwise unknown *meḍu*.

puñse putrāya vettavai (ŚB. [so, for Conc. ŚG.] BṛhU. *vittaye*, MG. *kartavai*, KS.† and v. l. of MG. *kartave*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB.

tvam no devatātaye (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. N. See §61.

śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV. *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. The anomalous RV. form is, as it were, explained in AV.

viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahuriḥ sahāvān (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS. Again AV. eliminates a rare hieratic form.

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV. *baladāvā na ehi*) RV. AV. 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV. p.p. *mā, ā, ihi*): 'come to us, giving strength'.

namo hradayyāya (KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyyāya* (KS. *niveṣyāya*) *ca* TS. KS.: *namo niveṣyāya* (p.p. *nī°*) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS.: *namo hr̥dayyāya ca niveṣyāya ca* VS. Anomalous forms seemingly from *hr̥d* and *hr̥daya* (but cf. §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake'). Stem *hradavya* quoted Pāṇ. 6. 1. 83, Vārtt. 2, Pat.

idā manuṣrad (AV. mss. *manuṣyad*) *iha cetayantī* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. The mss. reading of AV. is supported by APr. 4.65 (comm. *manuṣyarat*) and adopted by Whitney. The APr. comm. looks in the right direction; it is a blend of *manuṣrat* and *manuṣya-*.

namaḥ sūtāyāhantyai (TS. °hantya, MS. KS. °hantvāya) VS. TS. MS.

KS. *a-hanti*, 'not smiting': *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten'.
arāyo tasmān abhiduchunāyate TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *arāvā yo no abhi duchu-*
nāyate RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ. The stem *a-rāy-a* (:rai) is bahuvrīhi,
a-rā-van karmadhāraya. Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smān* in
 ApŚ.; it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the
 RV. form of the pāda.

vasuraṇvo (MahānU. °ṇyo) *vibhūr asi* TA. MahānU. *raṇya* is from root
raṇ; as to *raṇva* we must remember the quasi-root *raṇv* (see last
 variant in §225). Both comms. have fatuous explanations; that
 on MahānU. divides *vasur aṇyo* (= *stutyaḥ*!).

etena tvam atra śīrṣaṇvān (MŚ. *tvam śīrṣaṇyām*, Conc., but Van Gelder's
 ed., 6. 1. 2, *śīrṣaṇyān*) *edhi* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The KS. ApŚ. reading
 alone makes sense: 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy
 head'. The MŚ. form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a
 phonetic variant for °vān.

unnetar un non (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayā naḥ* AŚ.:
unnetar vasīyo na un nayābhi (KS. *vasyo 'bhy un nayā naḥ*)
 MS. KS. ApŚ. The AŚ. form may be felt as aec. pl. of *Vasu*
 (n. pr.), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for
vasyo (*vasīyo*): 'lead us unto welfare'.

§249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular
varīyaḥ for *varivah*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u*
 of *uru*:

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asma-*
bhyam mahi varivah sugam kaḥ RV.

sakhā sakhībhyo varivah (AV.* *varīyaḥ*) *kṛnotu* RV. AV. (both) TS. KS.
 GB. Here Ppp. has *varivah*; one ms. of GB. *varīyaḥ*, which, it
 seems, ought to be read in GB. in accord with AV., unless GB.
 quoted from Ppp.

tvaṣṭā no atra varivah (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛnotu* AV. TS.

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending,
 while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final:

yābhīr indro vāyādhē vīryāya (AV. *vīryāvān*) RV. AV. N. 'Increased unto
 heroism': 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'.

gārhapatyah (ŚŚ. °tyāt) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamaḥ* VS. VSK.
 ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Objective gen. varying with possessive adjective.
prajananam vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās (MahānU. *sādhuprajāvāns*)
tantum tanvānaḥ . . . TA. MahānU. But most mss. of MahānU.
 agree with TA.; the ed. follows one ms. and the comm.

namaḥ śaṁgare (TS.† *śaṁgāya*) *ca paśupataye ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Wackernagel, II. 1 p. 315, plausibly takes *śaṁgāya* for *śaṁgayāya*.
sa ghā (TB. *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā*
 (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations; see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

pra stomā yanty (SV. *yantv*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:
brahmaitad upāsvaitat (MahānU. °*syaitat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. The reading of TA. is uncertain; see VV I pp. 45, 125.

[*madhye poṣasya* (AG. °*sva*) *ṛmpatām* (MG. *puṣyatām*, AG. *tiṣṭhantīm*)
 AG. ŚG. MG. For *poṣasva* read °*sya* with Stenzler's Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs:

manve (ArS. *manye*) *vān dyāvāpṛthivī* (ArS. adds *subhojasau*) AV. ArS. Vait. See VV I p. 125.

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*:

tam u tvam (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhiḥ* RV. SV.

tvaṁ (KS. *tyaṁ*) *hy agne agninā* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. JB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.

imam ū (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū[m]*) *ṣu tram asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asma-bhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *i* 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *av* as a verb of motion; see Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV* 123ff.:

āpo agre viśvam āvan AV.: *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS. MS. KS. *yan mahatīr*)
viśvam (TA. *garbham*) *āyan* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.
 'Went (rushed?) into the all'; AV. is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'.

ati setuṁ durāvyam (SV. *durāyyam*) RV. SV. The derivation of the RV. form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 41. 2. The SV. form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *i* ('hard to cross').

ayebhyaḥ (TB. *ave*^o) *kīlavam* VS. TB. *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original; note that *av-* occurs in a Tait. text (see §247); is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm. 'to helpers'). Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *i*, the variant belongs to this group.

§254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

rṣiṇām putro abhiśastipā u (VS. ŚB. °*pāvā*, TB. °*pā ayam*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB.

tanūpārvānas (AV. *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāḥ* (AV. *tanūjāḥ*) AV. AB. AŚ. *tanūpāvan* = *tanūpā*.

svarraj (AV. *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV. KB. TB.

satyaṁ (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ. The RV. original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas.

utānyo asmad yajate vi cūrah (TB. *vicāyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original has *vi-ca-ūrah*; *vicāyaḥ* (comm. *viśeṣeṇa pūjāyuktaḥ*) is ἀπ.λεγ., corrupt, and untranslatable. See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165.

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The PG. reading is clearly secondary.

nāvaś caranti svasica iyānāḥ VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo ri yanti susico na vāñiḥ* MS. KS. The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough; VS. etc. may have a lect. fac.

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838.

praty eva (ŚŚ. *pra treva*) *grbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

§255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both): *ghṛtaṁ ghṛtayone* (MS. *ghṛtavanc*) *pība* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Home of ghee': 'rich in ghee'; *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV.). *anuvāsi* (VS. *anuyā*, MS. *anuvāya*, GB.† Vait.† *ahnānsi*, em. Vait. ed. to *anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS. *rātryā*, MS. KS.† Vait.† *rātriyai*) *tvā* (VS. MS. omit) *rātrīm* (VS. MS. KS.† *rātrīm*) *jinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait. (pratika in GB.) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants. The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā*. But note that MS. presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*.

trātāram indram akr̥ṇor avadhyam (VSK. *ayudhyam*) VS. VSK. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. Synonyms; note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v*. Something like the reverse process in Pāli *āvudha* = Skt. *āyudha*.

āvitsi (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid*: *ā-yuj*. Other interchanges of *vi*: *yu* in §805.

nādyā śatruṃ nanu (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB.

Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi*: *yu*).

rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. The startling change in TB. is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the pree. pāda. Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

śaṃgayī (MS. ŚB. °*gavi*, TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīradānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *gaya* 'chattels': *go* 'cow'.

somī ghoṣeṇa yachatu (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. Substantially synonyms. *spardhante dhiyaḥ* (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. See §109.

sarasvatyai yaśobhagīnyai (KS. *veśabha*°) *svāhā* VS. KS.

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS. KS. °*dgrāvā*, MS. °*drāyāḥ*, MŚ. °*drāyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The Maitr. texts obviously secondary.

malmalābhavantīm tvā (N. °*ṭityā*, corrupt) *sādayāmi* TS. MS. KS. TA. N. *rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

dhuñkṣāgneṇī (VSK. vv. ll. *dhuñkṣyā*° and *dhuñkṣvā*°) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dhūñkṣṇā* (KSA.° *ṣā*) TS. KSA. Wholly obscure words.

nikīrya (MŚ. *nigīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ. *tubhyaṃ madhye*, MŚ. *tubhyaṃ madhvah*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KŚ. A desperate passage; see §47.

duṣṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA. Bibl. Ind.; *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. Comm. on TA. *duruṣṣaha duḥkham utkarṣeṇābhībhava*; comm. on MahānU. *duruṣvahā tvam, duṣṭam uṣvam* (!) *dāham hanti*. The word seems to be *durasyuha* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'.

aśvān anaśśato (KS.† ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. Van Gelder *anaśrato*, without v. l.) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Poona ed. of TA. reads *anaḥśa'o*, v. l. *anaśyato*; the comm. *ayaḥśaphān*, with v. l. *anaśato*. Obscure.

revatī ramadhvam (MS.* °*tir amedhyam*) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. The variant of MS. is corrupt; see *AJP* 27. 403. But the reading of the ed. is an emendation; mss.°*ramadhyam*.

ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma (RV. *yad asan*) RV. VS. ŚB. *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi* + *das* 'fail'.

y and *h*

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions. Cf. Weber, *ISt.* 4. 224:

dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ (SV. *hitāḥ*) RV. SV.

saṁ sravantu diśo mahīḥ (HG. *mayi*) ApMB. HG.

endram vagnunā vahata PB.: *vagnunendram hvayata* TB. ApŚ. Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hvayata* to the middle in *vahata*. PB. comm. glosses *āhvayata*.

yamīr yamasya bibhryād (AV. *vīrḥād*) *ajāmī* RV. AV. See §222.

tam aham punar ādade KŚ. PG.: *īmaṁ taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham) HG. (plainly corrupt).

hinvāno hetrbhir yataḥ (SV. *hitāḥ*) RV. SV.

snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text °*nāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. 'ham *asmī*) TB. AŚ.

r and *l*

§257. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic; the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258. There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV., especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV. itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru:plu*, *mruc:mluc*, *car:cal*, *pruṣ:pluṣ*; the words *puru:pulu*, *aram:alakam* [despite Wüst, in *Ehrengabe W. Geiger* 185ff., which does not convince me—F. E.], *sahamūra:sahamūla*, and the intensive stems *jargur:jalgul*. Such instability continues after the Mantra period through the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded: Pischel §259, and cf. Wackernagel I p. 215f., Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and throughout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms. readings of one and the same text.

§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel: MS. 3. 7. 9 has *āśvavāra* and *āśvavāra* against *āśvavāla* and *āś°* in the corresponding passages of KS. 24.8 and KapS. 38. 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS., p. xv). PG. 1. 15. 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG. 1. 14. 4 *glapsa* (GG. 2. 7. 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleñgha* for *preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1. 11. 31. 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5. 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rigvedic Brāhmaṇa; and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV. one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB. passage in question, 2. 20. 14 (also in AŚ. 5. 1. 15), containing *bahuramadhyam*, imitates RV. 10. 42. 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)*.—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33. 196, that MS. has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Maitr. texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS. *āśvavāra* above in this section, and *kharrvāś* (to be sure with v. l. *khal°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first; one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt:

te no 'gnayaḥ paprayaḥ pārayantu (MŚ. MG. *pāla°*) TS. TB. PB. ApMB.

MŚ. PG. MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated; both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayaḥ*, related to *pārayantu*.

adhi skanda (Ppp. *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. 'Play the hero': 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vīd°*). See §272.

dhik tvā jāraṁ parasya janasya nirmārjmi . . . MŚ.: *dhik tvā jālmi . . .*

. LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction. *mā rudriyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §209. *gulbadhānaḥ* is not divided in p.p.; it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc.) = *guh*, 3 pl. aorist.

§261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV., but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV., or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB. (§259):

āsrīrā (AV. ApMB. *āslīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV. AV. ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV., which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

āsrīraṇ (TB.† *āslīlaṇ*, both edd.) *cit kṛṇuthā* (TB.† *°thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text *°thā*) *supratīkam* RV. AV. TB.

samūḍham (VSK. *samūlham*) *asya pāṇsure* (SV. *°le*) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The *l* form is regular after RV.; the *r* form in RV. only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā śriṣan* (VSK. v. l. *śliṣan*) *mā tṛṇeṣu* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. *aśleṣā* (*āśreṣā*) . . . below, §265.

andhāhīn (TS. *°he*, KSA. *°heḥ*, em., ms. *°he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS. KSA. *°gudā*, VS. *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS. p.p.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The RV. knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

anu no mārṣṭu (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (VS. TS. KS.† ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *viriṣṭam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

capyam (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhiṣag asya vālah* (KS. *vārah*, TB. *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV.; cf. however *āsravāra* in MS., §259.

devāṇšo yasmai tveḍe tat satyam uparīprutā (ApŚ. *aparīplutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV., only very rarely so later.

*aśloṇā*¹ (comm. *aśroṇā*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aśloṇāṅgair aḥtā* (read *ahrutāḥ* or *°tā* with Poona ed.) *svarge* TA. *śroṇa* chiefly RV.

§262. Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV. as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV. goes RV. one better in its hieratic *r*; but both RV. passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh*: *labh*, which in RV. always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later:

utālabdham (AV. *utārabdhān*, Ppp. *utāl°*) *sprṇuhi jātavedaḥ*; followed by: *ālebhānād rṣṭibhir yātudhānāt* (AV. *utārebhānān rṣ° yātudhānān*) RV. AV.

The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction; see Whitney's note.

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *śukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita*: *lohita*, of which again RV. has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra*: *kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole:

śukrāya svāhā VS. MS. ŚB.: *śuklāya svāhā* VS. MS.

peśo na śukram (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asītam* (MS. samh. mss. *aś°*) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

varuṇāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāḥ (TS.† misprinted *rohito-la°*; KSA. *lohita°*) TS. KSA.

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV.: *hataḥ krimiṇām kṣudrakāḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānaḥ* of MS., see §260:

asya kurmo (RVKh. *kulmo*, AVPpp. ms. *kṛmo*) *harivo medīnam tvā* RVKh. TS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS. 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV.: *iha kṛmo harivo medīnam tvā* KS. Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh. *iha kurmo ha° vedīnam tvā*. But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms. reading *kutso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo*.

upapravada (RVKh. *upapla°*) *maṇḍūki* RVKh. AV. N. Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh., this time with his ms. The form intended is *upa-pra-vada*, cf. *ā-vada* in next pāda. The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms. corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavaśva* in the second half stanza.

antarikṣam purītātā (TS. *purī°*, MS. *pulī°*, KSA. *pulī°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The *r* forms are commoner.

satatam tu śirābhis tu MahānU.: *saṁtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śil°*, but v. l. and comm. *śir°*, gloss *naḍibhiḥ*) *tu* TA. No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded.

§264. Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare. Here, first, eight passages containing *sarira* or *salila* 'ocean'. That MS. invariably has *salila*

cannot be considered significant (cf. §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV.; neither RV. nor AV. knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV. texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism:

aśvaṃ jajñānaṃ sarirasya (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *prapīnam* (MŚ. v. 1. °*taṃ*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS.

KS. MŚ.: *prapyātam* etc. TS. ApŚ.

vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA. °*yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

vyacyamānaṃ salilasya (VS. KS. ŚB. *sarirasya*, TS. TA. *bhuvanasya*) *madhye* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

sariraṃ chandaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: *salilaṃ ch*° TS. MS.

sarirāya svāhā VS.: *salilāya tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *salilāya svāhā* ŚB.

sarirāya (MS. TA. *salilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

sarire tvā sadane sādāyāmi VS. KS. ŚB.: *salile* etc. MS.: *salile sadane sīda* TA.

§265. The rest are miscellaneous:

kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (MS. *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS. MS. The *l* form is commoner.

aśleṣā (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. In MS. p.p. *aśl*°; KS. may intend either *a-* or *ā-*. The word regularly has *l*. Cf. *mā tad bhūmyām* etc., §261.

adhoraṃa (HG. text *atho*°) *ulumbalaḥ* (HG. *ṭulumbaraḥ*) ApMB. HG. The word (usually *udum*°, probably related to *udumbara*, *uḍ*° ‘fig-tree’) appears in RV. AV. etc., always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG., which may show dissimilation to preceding *l*. Cf. §273.

mudgās ca me khalvās (MS. *kharvās*, v. 1. *khal*°) *ca me* TS. MS. KS. A kind of grain; the *r* form not found elsewhere. Note that it occurs in MS. (cf. §259).

achalābhiḥ (KSA. °*rābhiḥ*, MS.[*m*] *atsarābhiḥ*, VS. *ṛkṣalābhiḥ*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184.

r and *v*

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīva-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood: *udādāya prthivīm jīradānum* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*nuḥ*; VS. ŚB. *jīvadānum*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

śaṁgayī (TB. °*ye*, MS. ŚB. °*gavī*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva*°) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§267. The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ yathājuram (SV. *yathā juram*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless': 'swift'.

ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā rīśantām (KSA. *viś*°) RV. TS. KSA.† 'Graze on': 'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac.

purū reto dadhire sūryaśvitaḥ (AV. °*śritaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. The AV. is secondary and not very intelligent; 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapŚ. (see note on KS.) has °*śṛtaḥ*, evidently intending °*śritaḥ*.

rudra yat te krayī (*krivī*, *kravī*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

pāti priyaṁ ripo (and *rupo*) *agram padam veḥ* RV. (bis): *pāty agnir vipo agram padam veḥ* ArŚ.

dūredrśaṁ grhapatim atharyum (SV. *atharyum*) RV. SV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The SV. form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.). In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned.

aśvinā gharmaṁ pātāṁ hārdvānam (TA. *hārddivānam*, read *hārdi*° with Poona ed.; LŚ. *pātām aharvyānam*, MS. *pībataṁ hārdṛānum*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. The MS. corruptly mouths over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*.

hitvī (SV. *hitvā*) *śīro jīhṛayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu saṁbharaitam (MŚ. °*retām*; AŚ. corruptly °*bhavatām*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

rathe akṣeṣv ṛṣabhasya (KS. TB. °*ṣu vṛ*°) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* ViDh. See §359.

mīśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ ApMB.: *kauberakā viśravāsah* HG.

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasaṁ* (*haviṣā*, °*ṣo*) *vṛṇānah* (etc.), see §854.

asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso* †*vatā haveṣu* AV.

varuṇāya rīśādase (KSA. *vidase*) . . . TS. KSA. So the ms. of KSA.: but von Schroeder emends to *rīśādase*.

§268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned: *uḡram ojiṣṭhaṁ tavasaṁ* (SV. *tarasaṁ*) *tarasvinam* RV. AV. SV. Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV.

vātajavair (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ* MS. HG. Either assimilation in MS., or avoidance by dissimilation in HG. of the banal sequence *vātajavair . . . manojavaiḥ*. Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS. is secondary. *dhananījayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛiham acyutam pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛiḥo 'cyutaś cyārayiṣṇuḥ* AV. The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv°* after *acyutaḥ*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV. 2. 16. 1).

r or *v* and *h*

§269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf. §266:

areḍatā (KS.* *ahed°*, so ed., but ms. *īḍatā*; read probably *areḍ°* with v. Schr. on KS. 32. 3, n. 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyāt*, TS. *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ahedatā* (ŚŚ. *ahel°*) *manasedam juṣasva* AŚ. ŚŚ. The root *reḍ* in Naigh. 2. 12 is followed immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'.

sahamānā sahasvatī (PG. *sarasvatī*) PG. ApMB. HG. *sarasvatī* is a blunder.

taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā (ApMB. *°dho*, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. See §109.

tā (tāv) ehi (*eha, iha*, MG. *eva*) . . ., see §§578, 888.

sa ghā (TB. *sadyā*, Poona ed. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

l and *ḍ*

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *ḍ* and *ḍh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāṣkala recensions of the RV. to *l* and *lh*. This variation is ignored in the Conc., because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts; Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV., in two texts, VSK. and ŚŚ.; and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Conc., but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK. and ŚŚ. alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.

It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV. occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§271. The list follows:

- idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *idāivāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastām vratena* RVKh. AV. Vait. But Scheftelowitz reads *idāiva . . . ghṛtena* for RVKh.
- aīdamṛdā yavyudhaḥ* KS.: *aīlabṛdā* (MS. °mṛdā, KapŚ. *īlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yavyudhaḥ*; MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241.
- ādityā rudrā vasavaḥ tvelate* (AB. *tvel°*, for *tved°*; GB. Gaastra *ṭtenute*, with all mss.) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.
- aṣṭrām tīdān pratināhā* (ApŚ.† *tālam pratināham*) MS. ApŚ.
- yad devī devaheḍanam* (VSK. TA.* °helanam, but TA. Poona ed. both times °heḷ°, with v. l. °hed°) AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. (bis) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh. GDh.
- nahy anyam baḍākaram* (AA. *balā°*) RV. AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. *baḷā°* (as is read in RV.).
- aśrathnan dṛḍhāvradata rīḍitā* RV.: *avradanta vīlītā* (fragment) N.
- indraś ca mṛdayāti* (AV. ŚG. *mṛl°*) *naḥ* RV. AV. ŚG.
- īde* (ŚŚ. VHDh. *īle*) *dyāvāpṛthivī pūrvacittaye* RV. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. VHDh.
- īdenyo* (AV. ŚŚ. Vait. *īlenyo*) *namasyaḥ* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait.
- krīdantau* (N. *krīl°*) *putrair naptṛbhiḥ* RV. AV. N.
- yad rīḍāv* (AV. *vīlāv*) *indra yat sthīre* RV. AV. SV. Svidh.
- rīḍu* (AV. Vait. *vīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. Vait.
- rīhi śūra* (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāśam* (AV. °lāśam) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.
- vauṣaṭ* (ŚBK. ŚŚ. *vauṣal*) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ.
- vy āṇaḍ* (AV. *ānal*) *indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svojāḥ* RV. AV.

ḍ and *r*

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between *ḍ* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā*; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also *ahar divābhir ūtibhiḥ*, §360; here MS. has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf. next §), but one ms. *vahaḍ* and p.p. *vahaṭ*.

- irāvatī* (KS. *idā°*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- idā* (ŚŚ. *ila*, MS. MŚ. *idā*, ApŚ.* *ira*, in the same passage with **idā*) *ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

ḍṛihasva vīḍayasva (MS. *vīr°*) *su* TS. MS.: *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV.; *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. See §260.

vīruc chapathayopanī AV.: *vīḍu chapathajambhanīḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts.

vareṇyakratūr (AV. *°tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vīreṇ-yah kratur indrah suśastih* RV. See §§383, 554.

d and *r*

§272a. On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in *GGA* 1931 236ff., especially 239f., and his article in *Ehrendage für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd. to *Mahābhāṣya*, on Vārtt. 9, p. 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yarvāṇas*, *tarvāṇas*, for *yadrāṇas*, *tadrāṇas*; and to Wackernagel I p. 212. Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB. *°rīr*) *asya samṛtiṁ vadhānām* (TB. *ba°*) RV. TB., where a difficult 2d person sing. is substituted for a 3d person (cf. VV I p. 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1. 2 *pradhākṣīr* for *°ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll. cc.*) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in *ZII* 8. 289f.) are:

mayi rāyo mayi rakṣaḥ MS. 4. 9. 13: 134. 5, for which the Conc. suggests *dakṣaḥ* for *rakṣaḥ*: *mayi dakṣakratū* TS. †2. 5. 2. 4, ApŚ. AG. HG.: *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ.

na me tad upadambhiṣar dhr̥ṣir brahmā yad dadau MS. (originally *°dambhiṣad ṛṣir°*, Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 10 *infra*): *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *ṛṣir brahmā yad dade* ApŚ. (bis). Here the ApŚ. form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142.

yadā rāghaṭī varadaḥ Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārā-dhyaṁ vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following: *ahar* (MS. *vahad*) *divābhīr* (MS. *divyābhīr*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

LŚ. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *vahad* (*rahaṭ*); see §360, and the preceding §272. The MS. is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic.

dadhīr (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV. SV.

balim ichanto ritudasya (AG. *vī tu tasya*, v. I. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yai) *rṇayā na īyase* (SV. īrase) RV. SV. KS.
 AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV.

l and *d* and *ṇ*

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *ṇ* and with dental *d*; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding. (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here; but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages *harikṇikā*, fem. of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ. to *hariklikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*; but the characters are graphically much alike:

tāsām ekā harikṇikā (ŚŚ. °klikā) AV. ŚŚ.

harikṇike (ŚŚ. °klike) *kim ichasi* AV. ŚŚ.

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*:
urūṇasāv (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulum*°)

RV. AV. TA. AŚ. See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!). See *adhorāma* etc., §265.

nī nivartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.

Both ἄπ. λεγ.; obscure epithets of Indra. KS. looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

CHAPTER VIII. THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa*: *kośa* (cf. §289, end), *śrambh*: *srambh*, are really never determined; and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13. exvii ff.; Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. lx; Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

ś and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges; and first those in which ś takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*; the Pet. Lex. goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense: *śaṁ yor abhi sravantu* (MŚ. *śra*°) *naḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. KS. TB. TA.

ApŚ. MŚ. HG. So Conc. from Knauer's report of mss.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads *sra*° for MŚ. without v. l.

vi srutayo (AŚ. *visru*°, ŚŚ. *viśru*°) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *visru*°.

dadhi mantham pariśrutam (ŚŚ. *manthām parisrutam*, one ms. °*śrutam*) AV. ŚŚ.

ā tvā parisrutaḥ (MG. °*sṛtaḥ*, mss. °*sṛtam*; AG. °*śritaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† °*āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *emāṁ* (ŚG. *enam*) *parisrutaḥ kumbhaḥ* (ŚG. *kumbhyā*) AV. ŚG.—AVPpp. *ā tvā pariśṛtaḥ*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32. 366 °*śritaḥ*. The readings of AG. MG., tho certainly secondary, make sense.

pratyañ (VS. TS. ŚB.* TB. °*yañk*, MS.†* and KS. v. l. °*yak*) *soma atidrutaḥ* (AV. text *ati hrutaḥ*, VS.†* MS. *atisrutaḥ*, KS. v. l. °*śrutaḥ*) AV. VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ. The true reading of AV. is °*drutaḥ*, see Whitney's note.

§276. The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally; see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified:

śam ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ ApMB.: *sam ūdho romaśaṁ hataḥ* RV.
Comm. on ApMB. takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p. xx.

§277. The rest are sporadic:

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. ŚG. MŚ. SMB. *Sṛma* is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS. it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to *Sṛma*, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf. *Sṛpa*, *Sṛmara*, and *Sṛmala*, names of Asuras (Harivaṁśa, see Pet. Lex.). ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

āstām jālma (KS. *jālma*) *udaraṁ śraṇṣayitvā* (KS. *sraṇs°*) AV. KS. Both edd. of AV. read thus; some mss. *śraṇs°* and some *sraṇs*, none the 'correct' *sraṇs°*.

śam te hiraṇyaṁ śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB.; see Winternitz, p. xvi. *somaś caturakṣarasyaśrīvīr* (MS. *°śrīvīr*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS. KS. A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrīvī* except here in MS.

peśo na śukram (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitaṁ* (MS. all saṁhitā mss. *aśitaṁ*, ed. em. *asitaṁ* with p.p.) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

ā śīrṣṇaḥ śamopyāt AV.; comm. and Ppp. *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf. however Bloomfield, SBE 42. 255 (*keśam opyāt?*).

śvāvṛt tat HG. Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*; the context gives no help in interpretation.

madhu vaṇśiṣṭya AV. Read *vaṇs°*: cf. JAOS 13. cxviii, and Whitney on AV. 9. 1. 14.

§278. In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*:

śam te hiraṇyaṁ śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277; and for other *sam*: *śam*, §§276, 280.

[*agnim ca viśvaśambhuvam* RV.† AV.†. KS. TB.†. ApŚ.†. No variant; correct Conc.]

śimāḥ (VS. *śimāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.* *śamyantu*) *śimyantāḥ* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. TS. KSA.† The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

occurring in the same pāda; is the *s* of VS. due to dissimilation?
Mahīdhara = *sīmāḥ*, glossed *rekḥāḥ* or *maryādāḥ*.

parṇasado (ŚŚ. °*sado*) *jaritaḥ* (AV. Vait. °*daḥ*, om. *jar*°) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf'. ŚŚ. possibly understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*).

viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ. *sūrāḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. The latter can only intend *śūrāḥ*. Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284.

yam eva vidyāḥ śucim (VāDh. *sucim*) *apramattam* ViDh. VāDh. N. *śukeṣu me* (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. 3 of SPP.'s mss., comm., and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 26. 228) read *śukeṣu*.

mṛgasya śrtam (HG. *śrtam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. (vv. ll. *śrutam* and *śrutam* in ApMB.) Kirste says 'probably *śrtam*'. More likely *śrutam* is intended in both texts. It is a question of ill-omened sounds (*śakunai ruditaṁ ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG.). 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss.' For *śru*: *sru* cf. §§275, 283.

pred u harivāḥ śrutasya (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. The word refers to Indra; SV. is perhaps thinking of Soma. Benfey abandons it and translates the RV.

namaḥ śaṣpiñjarāya (TS. *sasp*°) *twiṣimate* VS. TS. MS. †KS. See next. *ye vaneṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ* KS.: *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *sasp*°) VS. TS. MS. MG. See prec. Except in TS. the word is always written *śaṣp*°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplogy, Wackernagel I p. 279). Perhaps TS. gets its *s* by confusion with *sasya* 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf. Wackernagel l. c., Keith on TS.

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG. Comm. on ApMB., *śakārasya śakārah*; cf. Winternitz p. xvi.

krīḍī (VSK. °*lī*) *ca śākī cojjeṣī* (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī*, v. l. °*jīṣī*, *ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Name or epithet of one of the Maruts. Doubtless 'mighty', root *śak*; so Mahīdhara; and *sākī* seems incapable of other interpretation.

jīmūtān hṛdayaupāśābhyām (VS. °*śena*; VSK. v. l. °*sena*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

na jyotiṁṣi cakāṣati Suparṇ.: *jyotiṣaṁ na prakāṣate* RVKh.

tṛṣṭam piṣitam asyate AV. 5. 19. 5b. Whitney accepts Zimmer's emendation *āsyate*.

yad asṛavan paśava udyamānam AV. 7. 66. 1. Read or understand *āsravan* with SPP., comm., and Whitney.

sarau parṇam ivādadhat AV. 5. 25. 1. Read or understand *śarau* with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original:

rkṣo jatūḥ suṣīlikā (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. The p.p. of MS. reads *suṣīliketi suṣi-likā*, suggesting that VS. has the true reading. But *śuśulūkā* occurs once in RV. Both meaning and original form are obscure; folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyaṇa thinks of *śiśu* and *ulūka*; in RV. it is associated with *ulūka*.

grāmyamañkīradāśakau ApŚ.: *grāmyaṁ mañgīradāśakau* MŚ.: *vyāghraṁ mañgīradāśa gauḥ* Vait. Obscure proper names; see §49.

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important. While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the words *saṁ* and *śam* each make sense in these passages; cf. §§276, 278: *śam abdhyah* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *saṁ adbhyah* (supplying *śundhasra* from the preceding) KS.

mañḍūkyā su saṁ ṭgamah (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA.: *mañḍūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV. The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

yat ta āsthitaṁ śam u tat te astu TB.: *yat te viriṣṭaṁ saṁ u tat ta etat* Vait. 'That shall be all right for thee': 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'.

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer. Thus in three cases of the roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁ-viś*, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments:

teṣv ahaṁ sumanāḥ saṁ viśāmi (AŚ. *viśāti*, for °*ni*; MG. *vasāma*) AŚ.

ApŚ. HG. ApMB. MG. See Knauer's note on MG.

amāvāsye saṁvasanto (MŚ. °*viśanto*) *mahitvā* AV. TS. MŚ.

tasyāṁ devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ TS. TB.: *tasyāṁ devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *tayor devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* ApŚ.: *yasyāṁ* (v. l. *asyāṁ*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

§282. The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *ás* 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages. The *ās* forms all occur in RV., the *ás* forms in SV., which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhīr āśāte* RV. 8. 31. 6 and 1. 144. 6:

sahasrasthūṇa āśāte (SV. *ās°*) RV. SV.

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

yatrūmr̥tāsa āsate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

§283. The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*; in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *śru*, cf. §§275, 278:

nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (comm. and Poona ed. text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.: *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. See §145. *sasrud* is an em. for mss. *sasrad*, *saśrud*, *suśud*; Conc. suggests *suśrud*, but *sasrut* occurs in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ.

dṛśe ca (MS. *dṛśā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā brhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV. *śuś°*, KS. *suśukvabhiḥ*, MS. *suśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

§284. The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice; cf. *viśve devā* etc., §278:

śūro (TB. *sūro*) *na mītrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu* RV. TB. The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'.
vīhi śūra (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāśam* (AV. *°lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N. The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero'; TB. transfers it to an address to the sun.

§285. The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in *ś*, some of them rather remote in form:

sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ (TA. *śarva sar°*; some mss. add *sarvaśarvebhyaḥ*; MahānU. *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS. TA. MahānU. Sc. *namaḥ*: 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm. on MahānU. *sarvātmaka*]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS. has v. l. *śarvataḥ* for *sarvataḥ*. Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic.

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. *huve*, AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. AB.

kalpantām te (TA. **me*) *diśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA. **śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both) *viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve* (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ. *sūrāḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See §278.

§286. The root *sūd* varies with *śudh* and *śubh*; cf. §174, and note AV. *radantām śuddham uddharet* AV. 20. 136. 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Index Verborum):

aśuśudanta (MS. KS. *aśuśubhanta*) *yajñiṣā ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarāḥ śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

yena striyam (PG. *śriyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. *°tām*, ŚŚ. *striyāv akurutam*)

ŚŚ. SMB. PG. GG. *strī* is certainly original.

śumbhānas (KS. *stam°*) *tanvaṇ* (TB. *tanuvaṇ*, SV. *†tanvāṇ*) *svām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

svāṇ tanvaṇ (TS. TB. *tanuvaṇ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *aśiśret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Enlivened': 'entered into'.

śunaṇ ma iṣṭam . . . : svaṇ ma (ma idam) iṣṭam . . ., see §353.

tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB.

yad anena haviṣāśāste tad aśyāt (AŚ. *asyām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he obtain that': 'that (is) in this (offering, sc. *hotrāyām*)', or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words are *tad ṛdhyāt*). Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhed dhotrāyām*.

śakma yat te goḥ KS. MS.: *sagme te goḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *samyat te goḥ* TS. See §47.

tasthau nākasya sānavi (SV. *śarmaṇi*) RV. SV.

apāwrṇod duro āsmavrajānām (MS. *asmadrathānām*) RV. MS. TA.

śvātrāḥ pītā (ViDh. *snātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpaḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh.

sadā (MS. *śacyā*) *paśyanti sūrayaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NṛpU. GopālU. VasuU. SkandaU.

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB. *asthām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. Poona ed. text and eomn. *aśyām* for TB.; see VV I p. 86.

aryo naśanta (SV. *naḥ santu*) *saniśanta* (SV. *†tu*) *no dhūyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

āśuṇ jayantam anu (KS. *yā saṃjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Even the original version is obscure.

ā sutrāṇe sumatīm āvrṇānaḥ AV. Perhaps originally *āśutrāṇe*; see §355.

ś and ṣ

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following ś seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically: *nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS. *arṣat*) VS. VSK. IśāU. The word clearly means 'going' (root *ṛṣ*); VS. eomn. *ṛśa gatau*. Cf. however *anarṣarātum* (*alarṣirātum*) . . . §292.

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (MS. v. 1. °bhūt, ApŚ. °bhūvam) MS. ApŚ.: *abhi-
śikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. 1. °bhūvam) MŚ. (quoted from unedited mss.;
probably only a textual error).

§289. We find *ṣ* for proper *ś*, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, *Śaṇḍa* or *Ṣaṇḍa*. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with *ś*:

śaṇḍāya (VSK. *ṣa°*) *tvā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

nirastah śaṇḍah (VSK. MS.† *4. 6. 3 *ṣa°*) VS. VSK. MS. (bis) ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

apanuttau (KS. °tā) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS.* *ṣa°*) . . . TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB.

ApŚ. MŚ. See von Schroeder's note on MS. 4. 6. 3: 82. 16, which indicates that he then believed MS. to intend *śaṇḍa* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss. are unanimous for *ṣ* in some places, nearly unanimous for *ś* in others. Those of MŚ. vary.

Corruptions:

yenāpāmṣatām (SMB. v. 1. °ṣatām) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṣatām* *surām* PG.

varuṇeti śapāmahe (MS.† °hai; LŚ. †ṣayāmahe) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The LŚ. has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhāvanīh* (MS. text *kośa°*, all mss. *koṣa°*; TB.† 'koṣa°) MS. KS. TB. Read 'koṣa° in all. There would be no variant but for the em. in MS., which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *kośa*.]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions; the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original:

indrāṇyai kīrśā (KSA. °ṣā) TS. KSA.

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣīlikā (MS. *śuśulūkā*) . . . VS. MS. See §279.

kūsmān (VSK.† v. 1. MS. *kūṣ°*) *chakapiṇḍaiḥ* (MS. *śa°*) VS. VSK. MS.: *kūsmān chakabhiḥ* TS. KSA.

kūsmāṇḍāḥ, *ku°*, and *kūś°*, *kuś°*; also °māṇḍyaḥ and °māṇḍāni, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

ākarśye karśyo yathā ApŚ.: *gīh koṣvoṣyaur yadā girah* Vait.: *madhv ity ākarṣaiḥ kuśair yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*); the meanings are fairly close:

viśvaṁ satyaṁ kṛṇuhi viṣtam astu RV.: *viṣvak satyaṁ kṛṇuhi cittam eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50; Whitney on AV.

3. 1. 4; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 30. 6. [But no emendation of AV.

is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party).' Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 351f.) has *viśvaṃ viṣṭaṃ kṛṇuhi satyam eṣāṃ*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all. F. E.]

adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṃ (ArS. *kṣamā viśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs.) *purudasmō viṣurūpa* (KS. °*dasmavad viśvarūpaṃ*, TS. ApŚ. *urudrapso viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:

anarśarātiṃ (SV. *alarśirātiṃ*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. AV. SV. N. The RV. form is derivable from root *rs* 'injure'; cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. The SV. form seems on the face of it to contain the root *r*; it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.

nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Not to be touched (attacked)'.

asya hotuḥ pradiśy (AV. *praśiśy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Synonyms: 'at the command'.

prāṇān saṃkrośaiḥ MS.: *saṃkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. °*krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṃghoṣān* (ms. °*goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuś*.

yayor vāṃ devau deveṣv aniṣitam (TS. *aniś°*) *ojaḥ* TS. MS. KS. 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple. of *ni-śyati*; 'incessant', *a-niṣita*.

saṃ tvā śiśanti (Vait. *śiś°*) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. Garbe takes *śiśanti* from *śiś* 'leave'; it is more likely from *śās* (*śiś*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śiśanti* ('sharpen').

vanaspatīṃr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (**rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both). Roots *iṣ* and *aś*, practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns; see *RVRep.* 258. Add to VV I §121, 324.

aspārṣam enaṃ śataśāradāya RV. AV. In AV. most mss., SPP., and even Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 257), read *aspārśam*; in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV. form in his Translation (root *spr*, aor.), we think that the AV. tradition intended *aspārṣam*, as a form of *sprś*: 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years.' Of course the form is highly anomalous.

dirghām anu prasitīm (KS. *saṃṛtim*) *āyuje dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: *dirghām anu prasṛtīm saṃsprṣethām* MS. Cf. §78.

tve iṣaḥ (KS. *viṣve*, MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *saṃdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhūriritasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pralnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇaḥ (AV. *āśaśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending').

abhiṣṭīr (HG. °*tīr*, ApMB. *abhiṣrīr*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*)
RVKh. ApMB. HG.

ā darṣate śavasā sapta dānūn RV. AV. N.: *ā darṣati śavasā bhūryojāḥ* AV.

The whole thought is made over in AV.

atrā te bhadṛā raśanā apaśyam (KS. *bhadṛā rṛṣaṇā aḡrbhṇām*) RV. VS. TS. KS.

aśūśubhanta (TS. TB. *asūśudanta*) *yajñīyā ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.
See §286.

ṣ and s

§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete:

daivya mimānā manasā (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.

made suśipram (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. PAOS 13, p. cxviii.

āprṇo 'si samprṇaḥ (ApŚ. *āprṇoṣi samprṇa*). . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is corrupt.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ . . . VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahananḥ* . . . TS. TA.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *suganḥ traḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ.

tenemām upa siñcatam RV. AV. TA. N.: *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ. *asūrte* (MS. KS. °*tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS.

MS. KS. N. See §828.

kratvā variṣṭhanḥ vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.

ṛṣṭīnām ca stutīr (SV. *suṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§294. The rest are scattering:

ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *saspi*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. MG.

See §§32, 278, and next.

namaḥ śaṣpiñjarāya (TS. *saspi*°) *twiṣimate* VS. TS. MS.† KS.

sarvaṇi taṇi (AV. *sarvān nī*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāṇs tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS. ŚB, *masmasā*, MS.† *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms. *mṛśmṛsā*, VS. *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The word is sound-imitative (cf. Eng. *mash*, similar but independent). VS. rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242).

ā sutrāṇe sumatim āvrṇānaḥ AV.: *oṣiṣṭhadāṇe sumatiṇ grṇānāḥ* TS.

Whitney suggests, attractively, *āsutrāṇe* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS.); but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV. (*āśu* seems not used with the root *trā*).

kh, kṣ and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of *ṣ* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds; cf. the mss. reading *ṣudasi* at AV. 20. 135. 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ.:

kaṣotkāya svāhā TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU. Neither word is interpretable.

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction; cf. the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *śunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2. 268:

āśuṁ tvājau (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original is *āśuṁ*, which refers to Agni. To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ. and MŚ., reads *ity ākhukarīṣam* (MŚ. °*kirin*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word *ākhu* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ. (where Caland translates *āśuṁ*).

ud vaṇśam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mahābh. 12. 284. 78.

§297. And one case of *kṣ* and *ś* (lexical):

mayuṁ te śug ṛchatu (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with other animal names in the same passage.

s(ṣ) and h

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic; see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h*:

dhiyā na (SV. *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV. *māhi*) *śāśvataḥ* RV. SV. Verb endings; see VV I p. 104. The reverse is found in the first variant in §299.

dhruvāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG. The obsolescent ending *āsaḥ* is replaced by the regular *ā(s)* plus the particle *ha*.

jātavedo nayā hy enam sukrātām yatra lokāḥ JB: *jātavedo vahemaṁ* (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *sukrātām yatra lokāḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB.

āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*pratyañ* (etc.) *somo atidrutaḥ* (*°srutaḥ* etc., AV. text *°hrutaḥ*), see §275.

The true text of AV. is *°drutaḥ*.]

§299. In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*:

stuto yāsi (RV. *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. See VV I p.

105. The converse of the first variant in §298.

turīyāditya (VSK. *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV. VS.

VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*.

ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS.: *ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti* (AŚ. *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

guhā hitām nihitām (KS.† omits *nihitām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.: *guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB. ApŚ.

pratno hi (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam īdya adhwareṣu* RV. AV. TA. MahānU.

The TA. reading is corrupt; comm. *pratanoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV. misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS.

See Whitney on AV. 3. 20. 6.]

CHAPTER IX. PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi; namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

ya eṣa svapnanañśanaḥ (AV. °*nāśanaḥ*) RV. AV. N.

pūṣṇe 'ñghṛṇaye svāhā TA.: *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em., mss. *āprṇaye*) *svāhā*
MŚ. *āghṛṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *añghṛṇi*, comm. *añjanena dīpyamānaḥ*; but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *āgh*°.

§301. From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

agnim naras triṣadhasṭhe sam idhire (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS. *agnim idhe* (SV. *indhe*) *virasvabhiḥ* RV. SV.

atra pitaro yathābhāgaṁ mandadhvam TS. TB. ApŚ.: *atra pitaro mādayadhvam* . . . VS.VSK.MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. ViDh. Add to VV I §240.

krūrām ānañśa (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martah*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 187.

na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV. *rañsiṣam*) RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya paḍbīsāt* (VS. °*rīśāt*, LŚ.† *ṣaḍviñśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

agnim iḍīta (SV. *indhīta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship.

yam sīm id anya iḍate RV.: *yam sam id anya indhate* SV. Cf. prec.

yāsad (SV. TS. KS. *yaṅsad*) *viśvaṁ ny atriṇam* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Roots *yā* and *yam*; quasi-synonyms.

ato no 'nyat *pitaro mā yoṣṭa* (HG. *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ. HG.: *mā vo* (AŚ. *no*) 'to 'nyat *pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ. *yuṅgdhvam*) AŚ. Kauś. If we may trust *yuṅgdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic. Cf. VV I pp. 42, 150.

āpo asmān (MS. *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida*: *vinda*, *vṛjyāḥ*: *vṛñjyāt*, etc.); §279 (*maṣīya*: *maṅṣīya*); §280 (*adadrhanta*: *adadrñhanta*); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti*, *nti*, *te*, *nle*, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *ñ* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps °*yāñsi*, tho he translates °*yāsi* (see his note, p. 36):

jātānāṁ janayās ca yān (ŚG. *janayāñsi ca*; AVPpp. *janayāsi* [not °*mī*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV. ŚG. Barret, JAOS 32. 360, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

vahāsi mā (KS.† *vahāñsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokāḥ*) KS. TB.

§304. Similarly, such cases as *vṛṣā punāna āyusu* (SV. *āyūñṣi*) RV. SV., or *sva devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *sva devāñ*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., belong to noun declension; and *ajasraṁ tvāṁ* (ApŚ. *tvā*) *sabhāpālāḥ* TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

urvī gabhīrā (TS. *gambhīrā*) *sumatiṣ te astu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In this

and the next TS. replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

gabhīram (TS. *gambh°*) *imam adhvaram kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

samudra ivāsi gahmanā (TB. *gañh°*, but Poona ed. *gah°*) TB. ApŚ.

satyaujasā dṛñhanā (KS.† *dṛhanā*, MS. *durhṛñā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS.

KS.: *sacetasau druvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. Both TS. and KS. understand a form of *dṛh*: *dṛñh* (cf. *adadrhanta*: *adadrñh°*, VV I p. 187); AV. and MS. struggle in common with another idea.

antaḥ śubhrāvata (SV. *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV. SV. Cf. §173.

samudrāya śiśumāraḥ VS. MS.: *sindhoḥ śiñsumāraḥ* (KSA.† *śiśū°*)

TS. KSA. The form *śiñsu°* occurs in RV.; cf. Pali *suñsumāra*. Later *śiśu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy'. The long *ū* of KSA. may be a mere corruption in the single ms.

§306. The prefix *sam* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

samvṛd asi TS.: *savṛd asi* VS. KS. PB.: *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jinva* MS.

samstup chandaḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *saṣṭup chandaḥ* TS.

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS. *samvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *suṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

satataṁ tu śirābhis tu MahānU.: *saṁtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śilā°*, v. I. *śirā°*) *tu* TA.

nakṣatrāṇām sakāśān mā yauṣam MS.: *nakṣatrāṇām mā saṁkāśaś ca pratikāśaś cāvatām* Vait. Kauś.

agne sasṛjmahe (MS. *samṣṛ°*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. MS. KS. Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable.

sa (MS. *sañ*) *dundubhe sajūr indreṇa devaiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. The MS. hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *sajūr*.

sañ (MS. *sa*) *dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam* TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Again MS. is hardly interpretable; its change is the reverse of the prec.

sañ yajñapatir (VSK. *yajamāna*) *āśiṣā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sa yajñapatir āśiṣā* Vait. (probably to be corrected to *sañ*; see Caland on Vait. 4. 21).

§307. Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf. also §401): *rajabhūmis tvam mām* (MahānU. *tram am*, so TA. Poona ed. with v. I. *tram mām*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāḥ* TA. Mahān U.

tato (PB. *te*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ. 'ham yajñe') *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192; MŚ. clearly secondary.

ya im vahanta āsubhiḥ RV.: *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV.
svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe SV.: *svarpatiṁ yad im vṛdhe* RV. AV.
yo rayivo (SV. *rayim vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. The SV.
 doubtless corrupt.
tasyām no devaḥ (MS. *tasyām devaḥ*) *savitā dharmam* (VS.† VSK.†
 TS.† ŚB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB. Stems *dharma*: *dharman*.
mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Incom-
 prehensible in either form.
sa im (TS. *i*) *mandrā* . . . (see §374) VS. TS. MS. The particle *im*
 becomes *i* in TS., before *m*; this might be put with §401.
sam im (SV. *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV. AV. SV.

Nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'

§308. The Rigveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV. cases always anusvāra) acts as 'Hiatusstilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 33. 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved; and in another case ApMB. MG. read *tanūn* for RV. *tanū*, all intending a loc. sing.:

svāyām itanūn (RV. *tanū*) *ṛtviye* (RV.† °*vye*) . . . RV. ApMB. MG.

See Winternitz, *Introductio* to ApMB., XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*.

ā te suparṇā aminantaṁ (MS. TS. °*ta*) *evaiḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusstilger' between vowels; or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus:

yadīn (AV. *yady*) *ṛṇam saṁgaro devatāsu* AV. TA. Comm. on TA.

yadīn ṛṇam, *yad eva prasiddham ṛṇam*. We must apparently understand *in* for *im* (aliter *i*), the particle of emphasis; the TA. form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf. §438.

abhīm ṛtasya (SV. *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutaḥ* RV. SV. The SV., tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusstilger.

abhi (SV. *abhīm*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV.

yenākṣā (SMB. °kṣān, PG. °kṣyāv, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyāṣiñcatam*, PG. °tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. Nom.: ace. forms.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS.: *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV. If TS. has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect. fae., with avoidance of hiatus. *agner jihvām abhi* (MS. *jihvābhi*, p. p. *jihvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) *†grnūtam* (AV. *grṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS. might intend an instrumental, but note the p.p.

§310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:

agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV. *apān rasam udvayasam* (KS. *udayaṅsam*, TA. *udayaṅsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA.

agnim adya hotāram avṛṇītāyaṁ yajamānaḥ pacan paktiḥ (VSK. *pañktiḥ*) *pacan* . . . VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under *sīsena agnim adya* etc., TB.; but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) *pañktiḥ* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kauś. 22. 10; see Bloomfield, *GGA* 1902. 492.

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:

tam āhutam naśīmahi (AV. °tam aś°) RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots *aś* and *naś*.

tasya rathagṛtsaś (MS. °kṛtsnaś, KS. °kṛtsaś) *ca* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §46.

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatāya (VS. °yatayā, KS. *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhārate* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.

na kir devā minīmasi RV.: *na ki devā inīmasi* SV. Svidh. The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i(-noti)*. Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m*. Reverse of Hiatusstilger?

sam tvā tatakṣuḥ (LŚ. °kṣṇuḥ) Vait. KŚ. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ. may be influenced by its viniyoga: *iti takṣṇuyuḥ* (itself somewhat anomalous).

agnaye dhūñkṣṇā (KSA. °kṣā) TS. KSA.: *dhūñkṣāgneyi* (VSK. vv. II. °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS. VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.

annam me (ApŚ. **no*) *budhya* (ApŚ. °*dhnya*) *pāhi*, and . . . °*yājugupaḥ* MS. ApŚ. One ms. of MS. writes *buddhya* each time; perhaps *budhnya* is intended.

Cf.: *jīvām r̥ebhyaḥ* (read *mṛ°* with SPP., comm., and many mss.) *pariṇīyamānām* AV.

§312. Note finally the following curious variant:

kāyamāno (MŚ. *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV. SV. MŚ. N. Sāyaṇa glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily introduced in MŚ.

2. Presence or absence of *y*

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics; notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhakṣa*: *bhakṣya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent; the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases.

(a) Words equivalent in meaning; *y* follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *iya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vridhhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vridhhi: *aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa* (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāham śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. But *maitreṇa* may be a noun, 'friendship'; *mitriyeṇa* must be an adjective.

māham pautram (KBU. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *nīyām*, see §724; SMB. *nīgām*, and *riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

ya āntarikṣāḥ (sc. *sarpās* etc.) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā* . . . AG.

vāyur na īdita īditaryair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ. The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. On the troublesome TB. form see §491.

§315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary vriddhi appears in neither form or in both:

sumnāya sumninī sumne mī dhattam TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sumnāyuvah* (KS. °yavas) *sumnyāya sumnaṇ* (KS. *sumnyaṇ*) *dhatta* MS. KS.: *sumne sthaḥ sumne mī dhattam* VS. ŚB. Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'.

agnir devebhyah suvidatriebhyah (TA. °trebhyah) RV. AV. TA. N. *svargāsi* KS.: *svargyāsi* ApŚ.

ūrdhvaṇ manah svargyam (TA. *suwargam*) MS. TA.

na yajñasya manvate martyāsah (TB. ApŚ. *martāsah*) RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. The reading *martāsah* is poor metrically.

krūram ānaśa (KS.† ApŚ. *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS.† *martah*) AV. KS. ApŚ. Again *martah* is unmetrical.

marṣeṣu (VS. MS. KS. *martyeṣu*) *agnir amṛto nī dhāyi* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

sumitrā (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. *sumitriyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) *na* (KS. *ṇa*) *āpa oṣadhayaḥ santu* (KS.† °yo bhavantu) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. Followed by:

durmitrās (VS. ŚB. MahānU. KŚ. °*triyās*, AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. °*tryās*) *tasmai santu* (KS.* TS.† TB. TA. MahānU. BDh. *bhūyāsū*) *yo . . .*, same texts.

śārgah srjayah (TS. KSA. *ākhuḥ srjayā*) *śayāṇḍakas* (KSA. °*kās*, em. v. Schr. °*kas*, TS. *śayaṇḍakas*) *te maitrāḥ* (KSA. °*tryāḥ*, em. unnecessarily to °*trāḥ* in ed.) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

abhi dyumnaṇ (RV. VS. *sumnaṇ*) *devabhaktaṇ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṇ yaviṣṭhya*, MS. p. p. °*ṣṭha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. *yaviṣṭha* and °*ṭhya* are perfect equivalents; the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas.

tvām agne samidhānaṇ yaviṣṭha (RV. °*ṭhya*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The stanza is pure jagatī in RV.; half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others.

śataṇ pūrbhir yaviṣṭhya RV.: . . . *yaviṣṭha pāhy aṇhasah* RV. TA. See RVRep. 539.

gambhīrebhiḥ (AV. TS. HG. °*raiḥ*) *pathibhiḥ pūrviṇebhiḥ* (MS. *pūrevbhiḥ*, AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*, TS. HG. *pūrvyaiḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. AŚ. HG.

bṛhat sīma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavarṣṇyam (MS. °*ṇam*, so ed. with p. p.; other mss. °*ṇim*; read probably °*ṇyam*; TS. °*ṛṣṇiyam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

tāsāṇ viśiśnānām (KS. °*nyānām*) MS. KS.

namo nīveṣyāya (p. p. *nī°*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS.: *namo hradayyāya* (KS. *hradayyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS. *°ṣyāya*) *ca* TS. KS. From the noun *nīveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool'. The stem *nīveṣyā* (or *nī°*; note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms. *nīveṣyāya*.

namaḥ śīghryāya (TS. *śīghriyāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS TS.: *namaḥ śibhāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS. KS.

tau te bhakṣaṁ (LŚ. *°ṣyaṁ*) *cakratur agra etam* VS. JB. TB. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚŚ. *tayor anu bhakṣaṁ bhakṣayāmi* TB. ApŚ.: *tayor aham anu bhakṣaṁ* (LŚ. *°ṣyaṁ*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS. LŚ.: *tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB. ŚŚ.

jaitrāyā (ApMB. *°tryāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG. *°tām*, ApMB. *°tān*) *mām* RVKh. VS. ApMB. HG.

devāṅśo yasmai treḍe . . . bhaṅgena (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. *yamaṁ bhaṅgyaśravo* (KS. MŚ. *bhaṅga°*) *gāya* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. *yamaṁ gāya bhaṅgyaśravaḥ* (KS. MŚ. *bhaṅga°*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. *maṇḍūkāṁ jambhyebhiḥ* (KSA. *jambhaiḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

jambhābhyāṁ taskaraṁ (p. p. *°rān*) *uta* MS.: *jambhyais* (KS. *°yebhis*) *taskarāṁ* (KS. *† °rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.

aśvāsya vāje (KS. *krande*, TB. *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV. KS. TB. *yo 'sya* (MŚ. *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *kauṣṭhya* (KS. *kauṣṭha*) *jagataḥ* KS. TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

śvetāya vaidarvāya (PG. *°vyāya*, AG. ŚG. *°dārvāya*, MG. *vaitahavyāya*) . . . AG. PG. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MG.

pāpāt svapnyād abhūtyāḥ AV.: *pāpaḥ svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ. It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna*. [*inatamam āptyam* (AV. *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV. AV. N. The AV. must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney.]

(b) *Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant*

§316. Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant; both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vridhhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*:

meghyā (VS. *maighūr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

brhanto daivāḥ (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ. *divya* from *div*, *daiva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

achinno divyas (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS. ApŚ. See next.

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ. *daivo*; this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *bṛhaspatir brahmāham mānuṣaḥ* LŚ. *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun. Cf. prec.

kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ TB. ApŚ.: *dr̥hantām daivīr viśaḥ kalpantām †manuṣyāḥ* KS.

dhiṣaṇāsi pārvatī (VS. ŚB. *par°*, TS. TB. ApŚ. *parvatyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Adjectives *pārvata* and *parvatya* (and, if VS. ŚB. are right, *parvata*: Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*); all 'of the rock'. The VS. ŚB. reading is supported by the ms. readings (two occurrences) of KS., *parvatī* both times; von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice.

araṇyāya (MS. *āraṇyāya*, but p. p. *araṇyāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§317. The rest show vridhhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *daiva* and *daivya*:

daivo (HG. *°vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

daivā hotāraḥ saniṣan na etat AV.: *daivā hotāro* (TS. *°rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani°*, KS. *†vaniṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS. *etat*) RV. TS. KS.

daivā (AV. *°vā*) *hotārā* (TS. *°rāv*, AV. *°ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS. adds *imam*, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a (†).

daivyaṁ (MS. *°vaṁ*) *mānuṣā yugā* (MS. *yujā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

pauruṣeyād daivyāt KS.: *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. 4. 26. 7c.

mānuṣād daivyaṁ (MŚ. *°vam*) *upaīmi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

saṁ daivena (VS. ŚB. both also *°vyena*; TA. *devena*) *savitṛā* VS. ŚB. TA. Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*.

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents:

bṛhat sūro (KS. *sūryo*) *arocata* RV. KS.

sūryāso (SV. *sūrāso*) *na darśatāsaḥ* RV. SV.

sajūḥ sūra (MŚ. *sūrā*, TS. *sūrya*) *etaśena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayāṁ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ. *indrāḥ*) TB. ŚŚ.

spardhande dhiyaḥ (TS. KSA. *diraḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA.

§319. The rest are sporadic:

āpura stā mā prajāyā paśubhiḥ pūrayata ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajāyā ca dhanena ca* TS. AŚ.

agneḥ purīṣavāhanah (MS. *purīṣya*^o; VS.† ŠB.† *°vāhanah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. *purīṣa* and *°ṣya* are equivalent; Pāṇ. 3. 2. 65.

kāmāyai svāhā MG.: *kāmyāyai svāhā* MS. MŚ. Probably MG. corrupt.

śakalyam (AG. *śākalam*; sc. *tarpayāmi*) ŚG. AG. Both patronymics from *śakala*. Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG. reads *śāk*^o, we assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading; *śa*^o probably misprint. *yakṣmaṇ śronibhyāṇ* (ApMB. *śronī*^o) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṇ bhasadyaṇ śronibhyāṇ bhāsadam* AV. In RV. *bhāsada* is a noun; in the second AV. version it and *bhasadya* are both adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyaṇ*, but Whitney suggests *bhāsadam*) must be omitted as an ancient gloss.

rāyas poṣam audbhīdam (ApMB. *°dyam*) RVKh. VS. HG. ApMB.

pāvamānāḥ, *°nyāḥ*, and *°nyah*, various Dharma texts. All adjectives from *pavamāna*.

māyobhavyāya (ŚG. *āyo*^o) *catuspadī* AG. ŚG.: *catvāri māyobhavāya* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. MG. Equivalent nouns.

adveṣe (MS. *°ṣye*) *dyāvāprthivī huvema* (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. MS. 'Having no hostility' = 'not hostile'.

[*mitrāvaruṇābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.† Cone. wrongly quotes KSA. as *ānuṣṭubhyā*^o.]

anyaṇ te asman (NṛpU. 'sman, AV. *asmat te*) *ni vapantu senāḥ* (AV. *senyam*) RV. AV. TS. NṛpU. *Senyam* must = *senā*.

(c) Words not equivalent in meaning; *y* follows two consonants

§320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous.

§321. As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two consonants, being then sometimes written *iy*:

mandrābhūhūtiḥ (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur yajñānām* (MŚ. *yajñīyā*) *vāg* . . . TS. MŚ.

viśve devā mama śṛṇvantu yajñīyāḥ (ArS. *yajñam*) RV. ArS. ŚŚ.

yajñān-yajñān (KS. *yajñīyā yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyah* (KS.† ŚŚ.† *°yaḥ*) VSK. KS. TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

mā no rudrāso adhiḡur vadhe nu (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ.: *mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānah* (TA. *gur vṛdhānah*) MS. TA.

iyaṃ pītryā (AB. *vai pītre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pītre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *agre*
AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

putraḥ pītre (KŚ. *pītrye*) *lokakrj jātavedaḥ* TB. KŚ. ApŚ. 'As a son to
his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'.

yā (AV. omits) *antarikṣa* (KS. AG. °*kṣyā*) *uta pārthiūr yāḥ* (KS. *pār-
thivāsah*, AV. *vā prthivyām*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . . .
pārthivā yāḥ.)

namaḥ kātyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya (MS. °*ṣṭhyāya*, p. p. °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS. TS.
MS. KS.

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for
highest nobility'.

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhranaḥ (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhr-
vanah*; MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhrvanah*) *pāram aśīya* AŚ.
ApMB. MG. Read *svastyasyā*° in MG. with most mss.

arghaḥ HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyam bhoḥ* Kauś.: *arhaṇīyā āpaḥ*
ApG. *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'.

adhyakṣyānukṣattāram TB.: †*ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

§322. A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter
meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered
with *ukthas*':

uktham vācīndrāya TS. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *uktham avācīndrāya*
ŚŚ.: *ukthyaṃ vācīndrāya śṛṇvate tvā* AŚ.

mantram vadaty ukthyaṃ (NrpU. *uktham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AA. ApŚ.
NrpU.

aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu MS. ApŚ.: *ukthas* (! read *ukthyas*?) *te †'ṅgāni*
pātv asau AŚ.

ukthebhyaḥ tvokthāvyam grhṇāmi KS.: *uktheyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ.
uktham (AŚ. *ukthyam*) *indrāya śaṅsyam* RV. SV. AŚ.

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

§323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the
y, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya*
'heroism':

yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā AV.: *vīrebhīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* MS.:
vīryebhīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā (TB. *śac*°) VS. ŚB. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
eṣa te yajño yajñapate sahasūktarākāḥ svīrah (AV. *svīryah*; VS. *sarva-
vīras* . . .) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

anāmi kṣatram ajarāṃ svīryam (MS. KS. *svīram*) RV. TS. MS. KS.
sa (also: *sā*) *no dohatām svīryam* (MŚ. *svīram*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (In
all texts with both *sa* and *sā*.)

purukṣu traṣṭā (MS. °ṭaḥ) *suṛīyam* (VSK. TS. *suṛīram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

nirdevaṁ nirvīraṁ (KSA. °ryaṁ) *kṛtvā* . . . TS. KSA.

praḡāṁ suṛīrāṁ (PG. *suṛīyāṁ*) *kṛtvā* TS. PG.

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *daivya*; cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316: *divaś chadmāsi* AG.: *divyaṁ chadmāsi* . . . LŚ.

divo dhārāṁ bhindhi KS.: *bhindhīdam* (MS. *bhindhy ado*) *divyaṁ nabhaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.

madhye divo (MS.* *divyo*) *nihitaḥ prśnir aśmā* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS ŚB.

ahar divābhīr (MS. *vahad divyābhīr*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ.

divābhīr is for *divā* + *ābhīr*, but is understood by comm. on TA. as one word, = *dyotamānābhīr*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS., which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.

vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenodgātrā . . . *pañcabhīr daivyaṛ* (MŚ. *devaṛ*) *rtvighbīr uddharāmi* ApŚ. MŚ.

§325. The rest require no subdivision:

ātīr (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vācave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

pāra (p. p. of TS. *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ* (KSA.† *'vārīyebhyaḥ*) *pakṣma-bhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra* (p. p. of TS. °re) *ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pārīye*°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *pāryāṇi pakṣmāṇy avāryā ikṣavaḥ*, and: *avāryāṇi pakṣmāṇi pāryā ikṣavaḥ* VS. MS.

pāryāya kaivartam TB.: *pārāya mārḡāram* VS.: *avāryāya mārḡāram* TB.: *avārāya keartam* VS.

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

sugam ca me supātham (VS. KapŚ. °thyaṁ) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ.

mā trat kṣetrāṇy araṇīam (MS. °aḡāni, p. p. °ḡāni) *ganma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

bṛhatā tvā rathamtareṇa traṣṭubhya (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.:

bṛhadrathamitarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā . . . TS.

sūpasthā asi vānāspatyaḥ MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS. ApŚ.

agne tvāṁ purīṣyaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnih purīṣam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. And others, see Conc.

namah sobhagāya ca pratisaryāya (MŚ. °sarāya) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo lopyāya eṣlapyāya (MS. °pāya) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namah parṇāya (TS. KS.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇasādāya* (VS. °*sadāya*, TS. °*sadyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

śukras te grahaḥ (VS. ŚB. *grahyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Draught': '(juice) for the draught'.

atho varuṇyād uta RV. AV. VS.: *nir mā varuṇād uta* (ApŚ. *adhi*) LŚ. ApŚ. Inferior meter in the latter.

sa budhnyād (TS. KS. AŚ. °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS. KS. AŚ. *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV. TS. KS. AŚ. (AVPpp. agrees with the others; Barret, JAOS 37.260.)

tayā grṇantaḥ sadhamādeṣu AV.: *tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. °*mādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *tasthur grṇantaḥ sadhamādyāsaḥ* RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh., but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.) In MS. KS. TB. *sadhamādyā* means the same as °*māda* 'feast'; but in RV. AV. 'participant in a *sadhamāda*'.
nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ. ApŚ.: *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS.

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ.

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

añhasaspataye tvā VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *añhaspatyāya tvā* TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

§326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. °*sūyāś*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rājasūya*, adjective in MS. KS., is equivalent to *rājasū*: the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel. In TS. it appears as a noun. Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -i-.

svāhā rājasūyāḥ (VS. ŚB. °*sraḥ*, TS. °*sūyāya citānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. Cf. prec.

mahādevam antaḥpārśvena (VS.† °*parśaryena*) VS. TS. TA. Formally, the VS. form is based on *parśu* 'rib'. Mahīdhara: *antar . . . pārśvāsthisaṃbandhinā māñsena*. The form *antaḥpārśvya* occurs in the next formula.

āganma mītrāvaruṇā vareṇyā (KS. °*yam*; MS. *vareṇa*) TS. MS. KS. Here the adjective *vareṇya-* is corrupted in MS. to *vareṇa*, instr. sing. of *vara-*.

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*:

upastutyaṁ mahi jātam (MS. °*tyaṁ janima tat*; TS.* *upastutaṁ janima tat*) *te tarvan* RV. VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. Vait. Gerundive varies with past pple.

uta prahāṁ atidīvyā jayāti (AV. °*dīvā jayati*) RV. AV. The RV. has a gerund form; the AV. a nom. sg. of stem -*dīvan*.

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning):

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB. *martave*) RV. PB.

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem. forms in *y-aḥ* varying with masc. or neut. forms without *y*):

āpo me hotrāśaṁsinaḥ (AG. °*sinyaḥ*) ŚB. ApŚ. AG. 'The waters are my Hotrāśaṁsins'; the priest-name is once made fem. to agree with *āpah*.

varṣās cākṣuṣyaḥ VS. ŚB.: *varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi* TS. MS. KS. Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā*. The latter may be nom. in RV. (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10. 13. 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental.

imāṁ narāḥ (MŚ. ApŚ.* *naraḥ*) *kṛṇuta vedīm etya* (MŚ. *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss. but one; ApŚ.† 2. 2. 6a *eta*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya*. The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d*-) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

vān ma āsan (MŚ. PG. *āsye*) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. PG. BDh. Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsya*. Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gaastra in GB. with all his mss., and which is also the reading of most mss. of AV. and Kauś., so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss. of Vait.; possibly this is an editorial oversight.) The form *āsyān* is evidently a blend of the other two forms.

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first); the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p. 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

tapate svāhā TS. KSA. TA.: *tapyate svāhā* VS.

tapatyai (TA. Poona ed. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA. TA.: *tapyatvai* (v. l. *tyai*) *svāhā* TS. The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the Rīgvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapyā-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres. pple.) is based on stem *tapa-*.

§330. So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp. 49 ff., where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound:

yenākṣā (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*, SMB. *yenākṣān*, PG. *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *ṣiñcatam*; PG. *ṣiñcatām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms:

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 78.

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc.

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ*. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character; connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants. The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28-9):

vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa sañbhrtatamenāyakṣase (TA. *ṣyakṣyase*, ŚŚ. *ṣyachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Aorist in MS., future in TA.; in ŚŚ. a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*.

(*net trū . . .*) *dadhṛg* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryāñkhayāte* (TA. *ṣtai*, AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended.

śardhāṁsy agne ajarāṇi (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 29.

bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (KS. *bhakṣa*°) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS.; ed. emends to *bhakṣya*°. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple. middle in form but passive in meaning. *mekṣyāmy ūrdhras tiṣṭham* AV., so emended by RWh.; all mss. *mekṣāmy. yenākṣā* (°*kṣyāv*, etc.) ... (see §330). In PG. *akṣyāv* is taken to be from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption.

§333. In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*; it may be regarded as belonging with the *kṣ* eases in view of §§182 ff.:

tenārātsyam (GG. ŚŚ. MŚ. °*sa*m; so also p. p. of MŚ.; most mss. of MŚ. °*syam* with MS. text) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist; the conditional does not fit. See VV I p. 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:

ratho na vājam saniṣyann (SV. °*sa*nn) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor., translates a future.

ā vrṣcyantām (AV. *vrṣcantām*) *adītaye durevāḥ* RV. AV. The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder; cf. VV I pp. 29, 51 f.

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *kṣ*:

dhūṅkṣāgneṃyī (VSK. °*syā*gneṃyī or °*svā*g°) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dhūṅkṣā* (TS. °*ṣṇā*) TS. KSA. See §255.

tarakṣuḥ (KSA.† °*kṣaḥ*) *kṣṇaḥ śvā caturakṣo* (KSA. °*kṣyā*) *gardabhas ta itaraṇānām* TS. KSA. The ed. emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems necessary.

akṣyos (inss. *akṣos*) *tanvo rapaḥ* AV.

Cf. further such mss. readings as *vibhuṅkṣamāṇa* for *vibhuṅkṣya*° at Kauś. 23. 9, 38. 26.

§336. The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p. 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*; indeed the mss. also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

prasthitā vo madhuścutaḥ (VSK. MS. °*ścyutaḥ*) VS. VSK. MS. TB. So the editions. But Poona ed. of TB. records a v. l. °*ścyutaḥ*; and per contra, all samhita mss. of MS. read °*cyutaḥ* or °*ścutaḥ*.

srucā devaṁ ghṛtaścutā (KS. and v. l. of MS. °*ścyutā*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

ghṛtaścuto madhuścutaḥ TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtaścyuto madhuścyutaḥ* VS. MS. So v. l. and p. p. of MS. in the other passage. Moreover KS. has v. l. *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu*^o its two mss. read *°ścyutaḥ* and *°cyutaḥ*.

dyaaur yataś cyutaḥ agnāv eva tat ApŚ.: *prthivīyām avacuścotaitad* TB. ApŚ.: *yata ścutaḥ dhutam agnāu tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cuścutaḥ agnāv evaitat* MŚ. (but the latter is a dubious emendation; better, *yatra ścutaḥ*): *yata ścutaḥ* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ. See on this variant VV I p. 139.

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

viṣṇoḥ śnaptre (TS. *śnyaptre*, MS. *śipre*) *sthaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately *ñ*; this is indicated by the TS. variant (v. l. and p. p., however, *śnaptre*); so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, *HOS* 18. xxxvii).

apāśnuṣṇīm apā rakṣaḥ (and, *apā ragham*) TA.: *apāśnyuṣṇīm* etc. TA. So, correctly, Poona ed. *āśn(y)uṣṇī* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni. The comm. explains only the form with *y*, monstrously: *āśnānām bhoktṛṇām uṣṇīr dāhako yo 'gniḥ*. Cf. prec. *mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. *dīvo jyote* (KS.* *°tir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

mṛśase (SV. *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV. SV.

śyāmā sarūpaṁkaraṇī AV. 1. 24. 4a. Here the Berlin ed. reads *śāmā* with nearly all mss., but against comm., Ppp., and the evident sense, which demands *śyāmā*; see Whitney's note.

Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant. That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusstilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31. The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:

agne akṣīṇi (HG. *agneyakṣīṇi*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB. HG. As Kirste observes, HG. must intend *agne ak^o*, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hiatusstilger' and nothing else. See also *anūmayaidhi* etc., §344.

§339. The cases of initial *y* are:

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. *°nītir*, KS. *°dhītam* and † *°nītha*, MS. *°dhīta*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *agne* is probably original; it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV. KS., by *e* in MS.; the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y*.

añjanti suprayasaṁ (AVPpp. *yuñjanti suprajasaṁ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

pītevidhi sūnava ā (MS. *sūnave yaḥ*) *susevaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *devabhir aktam* (VS. TS. *yuktam*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

kāṣṭhā ajmeṣv (SV. *yajñeṣv*) *atnata* RV. SV. A lect. fac. in SV.

viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ (KS. *°nā yo vyomā*; MS. *vīmame yo vihāyāḥ*; TS. *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N. *ameṣṭam asi svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *yameṣṭam asi* (with or without *svāhā*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama).' Preceded by *asi* in all. The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy.

āsum jayantam anu yāsu vardhase RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *yā saṁjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS. The latter is doubtless secondary. Preceded by *gīrā*. KapŚ. *āsraṁ*, doubtless intending *āsum*.

§340. In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a*. This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y*:

triṇśad yasyā (TB. *asyā*) *jaghanam yojanāni* MS. KS. TB.

asya (SV. *yasya*) *te sakhye vayam* RV. SV.

ghorā rṣayo namo astv ebhyaḥ (MŚ. *astv adya yebhyaḥ*) AV. TS. MŚ. *cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam* AV.: *cakṣur yeṣāṁ* (v. l. *hy eṣāṁ*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ.: *cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau* TS. *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ. Others with *tasyām*, see §281.

§341. And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems:

mitro no atra varuṇo yujyamānaḥ AV.: *mitro yatra varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* RV.

Double case; the *y* of *yatra* seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV.

yaded (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛh^o*) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. This *pāda* precedes or (in KS.) follows the next; the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS. owing to the transposition of the two pādas.

ād (KS. *yad*) *id dyāvāprthivī aprathetām*, same texts. See prec.

athā (TB.* *yathā*; AV. MS. TB.* *yatra*) *devaiḥ sadhamādāṃ madema* (AV. *madanti*, comm. *madema*) AV. MS. KS. TB. (all three) ApŚ.

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB.

yathā (RV. *atho*, VS. ŚB. *athā*) *na* (RV. *ta*) *indraḥ kevalīḥ* (VS. TS. ŚB. *indra id viśaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

yathainam jarase nayāt AV.: *athainam jarimā ṇayet* HG.

Cf. also: *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc., §363, and *yasyām idam viśvam* (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc., §386.

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

PB. ŚB. 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary.

sudevam indre aśvinā (MS. *indrāyāśv°*) VS. MS. TB. As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative; both depend on *dadhuḥ* in the context.

sahasrākṣo (VSK. TS. KS. °*kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 10. 1 translates 'for'; his text seems to require 'at'.

graha viśvajanaṇa niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p. p. *viprāya, mate*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS. KS. As in prec., a loc. with *ā* varies with a dat.

yo gopā api (TB. *gopāyati*) *taṃ hve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

ta ā vahanti (MS. *tayāvahante*; KS. *tad āharanti*) *kavayaḥ purastāt* TS. MS. KS. TB. See Keith on TS. 1. 1. 2. 1. The original reading probably in TS.; Keith thinks that MS. may intend the same, with *tay* for *te*, altho its Brāhmaṇa explains *tayā* as referring to the *dhiṣaṇā*.

datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattrāyāśma°*, AŚ. *dattāyāśma°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB. *dattāśma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS. See §367.

mahyaṁ vātaḥ pavatāṁ (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmīn* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

§343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily:

pāvakayā yaś (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 453.

pāhi gāyāndhaso (SV. *gā andh°*) *made* RV. SV. The RV. has a regular 2d sing. impv. pres. from *gai*; the SV. an aor. inj., *gās*. Add to VV I §158.

pīṭva putraṁ jarase nayemam (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The MS. p. p. reads *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts.

§344. Consider also the following peculiar case:

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ† *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *anāmayaedhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The mss. of Kauś. read *anāmayaedhi*; the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h)* *edhi*: 'be free from disease'. But the Kauś. reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ. ŚG., with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338. See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii; and cf. §78.

§345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya*. The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts: *yad dha syā* (AV. *sā*) *te pañīyasī* RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

mayi tyad (MS. *tad*) *īndriyaṁ bṛhat* (KS. TB. TA. *mahat*, MS. *vīryam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Pratīka in MŚ.: *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss. mostly *tād*).

yathā ha tyad (TS. ApŚ. HG. *tad*) *vasavo gauryaṁ cit* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. HG. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

ā nu tac (SV. *tyac*) *chardho divyaṁ vṛṇīmahe* RV. SV.

pratī te (AV. *tye*) *te ajarāsas tapīṣṭhāḥ* RV. AV.

ud it te vasuvittamāḥ ApŚ.: *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

§346. Other lexicial variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few:

peśasvatī tantunā samvayantī (KS. TB. °*vyayantī*) MS. KS. TB. Roots *vā* and *vyā*.

endraṁ vagnunā vahata PB.: *vagnunendram hvayata* TB. ApŚ. (with metathesis of *h*).

§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi ŚŚ.: *suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss. which agree precisely with ŚŚ. but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *ṣudasi*. *vidad gavyam saramā dṛdham ūrvam* (TB. *ūrvyam*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm., without v. l. *satāsati* (comm. *satyasati*) *prajāpatiḥ* TB. But Poona ed. comm. *satāsati*.

hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. The corruption may be graphic in nature. *prayapsyann iva sakthyau* (TB. text *sakthau*) TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. text and comm. *sakthyau*, the only possible reading.

oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām (TA. °*kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. Poona ed. of TA. °*kośyā*°.

ayoddheva (TB. °*dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV. TB. Tho Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm. has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-iva*.

3. Presence or absence of *r*

§348. Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words: *śūro nṛṣātā śavasaś* (SV. MS. *śra*°) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca* †*kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

grṇānāḥ śravase (SV. *śa*°) *mahe* RV. SV.

satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutaṁ śavāṁsi (SV. *śravāṁsi bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. TB.

ā yo viśvāni śavasā (SV. *śra*°) *tatāna* RV. AV. SV.

śraviṣṭhāḥ stha MS. KS.: *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ* VS. ŚB.

§350. The roots *dhā* and *dhṛ* and the like, in virtual synonyms:

sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV. SV.

vṛṣā dharmāṇi dadhiṣe (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā (MS. *vidhartā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdṛk* (KS. *paramo na saṁdṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

daivṛāya dhartre joṣṭre (MS. *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devayor dharme (MS. °mā, AV. *dhōmann*) *asthīran* AV. TS. MS. KS.

kṣayasyāsi vidhataḥ (SV. *vidhartā*) RV. SV. Here *vidhataḥ* from root *vidh*.

§351. Roots *pū* and *pr*:

atirātraṁ vararṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ (KS. *varṣvān pūta rāvaṭ*, TS. *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

apālām indra (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, MG. *pūrtiy a°*, ApMB. *pūrtvy a°*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*:

śvātṛāḥ pūtā (ViDh. *snātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpaḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh. *pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān* (AV. °tu *payasvān*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Comm. on AV. *prayasvān*.

§353. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusstilger':

ahim budhnyam (TS. °nīyam) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (TS. *saṁcarantīḥ*, MS.

KS. *anv īyamānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms; note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary; a sort of 'Hiatusstilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli.

antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānaḥ (GB. *hrīyamānaḥ*, so Gaastra without the v. l. *hīyamānaḥ* recorded in Bibl. Ind. ed.) RV. GB The AVPpp. 1. 107. 4 (Barret, *JAOs* 26.290) has the RV. reading; GB. perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary. Note the final *r* of the preceding word.

vanasade (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

mā traṁ hārṣīḥ śrutam mayi PG.: *śrutam me mā pra hāsīḥ* RVKh. 'Take away': 'abandon'.

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °da) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. Comm. on TA. tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jṛ*).

vikirida (KS. °da, VS. °dra, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §168.

ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, PB.† *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cētīd abhiśiṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt, see §193).

jāgrtsyas (mss., v. l. *yā gr°*) *tripañcāśīḥ* AV.: *yā(h) kṛcchrās tri°* AVPpp. See §§185, 192.

śunaṁ ma iṣṭaṁ śunaṁ śāntaṁ (p.p. *śrāntaṁ*) . . . MS.: *svaṁ ma* (AB. *ma idam*) *iṣṭaṁ* . . . *svaṁ śrāntaṁ* (TB. text *śrātaṁ*, Poona ed. *śrāntaṁ*) . . . AB. TB. ApŚ.: *svaṁ ma iṣṭaṁ astu śunaṁ śāntaṁ* . . . KS.

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm (KS. *brhaspatīm*) . . . *śroṇitaḥ* (KS. *śoṇitaś*; Conc. suggests reading *śro*°) . . . VS. KS.

prṥthivī bhūvari (KS. *vibhū*°) *sinīvāly urandhra* (KS. *uraṁdha*) *ācitta* . . . KS ApŚ. An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śīrtatano pāhi vidyot KS.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītataṇo pāhi mādyā divaḥ* . . . TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītama pāhi mā didyoh* VS. ŚB. In KS., apparently the original, 'having uninjured body'; TS., 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect. fac. VS. has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable; comm. either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory.

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛṇu AV.: *vi jihīṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA. The AV. is original: 'go apart (root *hā*), make room.' TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from *hr* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīṣasva*. *anādhrṣṭaṁ sahasyaṁ* (TS. KS. *sahasriyaṁ*) *sahasrat* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect. fac.

yo agniḥ kravyavāhanaḥ (VS. KS. *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. Euphemistic change of *kravya*° to *kavya*°.

yata āttas (AŚ. *ārttas*) *tad ayan punaḥ* TS. AŚ. 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned.' AŚ. mere blunder or misprint.

prati vāstor aha (AV.* *ahar*) *dyubhiḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. ArS. VS. KS. ŚB.: *praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ* TS. The comm. on AV. has *aha*; *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhiḥ*.

apām tvā sadhiṣi (MS.† *sadhrīṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *sadhiṣ-i*, 'in the seat'; *sadhrīṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS. 4. 3. 1. 1) perhaps with thought of RV. *sadhrī*.

anābho mṛḍa dhūrta (MS. °te, v. l. °ta) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. See §749.

śaṁ no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo RV. GB. AŚ. Vait. MŚ. According to Gaastra, all his mss. read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text.

ā na indra (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV. (both)

vyrdhyā apagalbham (TB. *apra*°, but Poona ed. text and comm. *apa*°) VS. TB. Probably mere misprint.

potrāgnīdhro (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nihitaṁ pādam ekam GB.*

§354. The following involve different word-divisions:

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim patireto grbhāya* (ApMB. HG. *prati reto grhāṇa*) ŚG. HG. ApMB.

āyuhpati rathanītarāṁ (MŚ. *āyuh pratirath°*) *tad aśīya* etc. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter corrupt.

yena bhūyaś (PG. *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, corrupt; PG. *carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

tan mā jinva (KS. *mārjivā*) TS. MS. KS. 'Quicken me': 'cleansing it'. *sa vaḥ sarvāḥ saṁ caratī prajānan* AV.: *sarvaḥ sarvā* (p.p. *saḥ, sarvāḥ*) *vi caratu prajānan* MS. The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāḥ*.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

agnir hotreṇedaṁ (ŚŚ. *hotreṇa*) *havir ajuṣata* MS. ŚŚ.: *agnihotreṇedaṁ havir* . . . TB. AŚ. But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed. of TB.

ud vanīsam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

§355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically:

ūrdhvacitaḥ (MS. KS. *°sritah*) *śrayadhvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

See §195.

svāṁ tanvaṁ (*tanuvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *aśisret*) TS. MS. KS. TB.

See §287.

pred u harivaḥ śrutasya (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. See §278.

triśug (AŚ. *triśrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. See §145.

śivā rutasya (TS. and v. l. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. *°jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ TS.: *viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyāmānaḥ* VS. 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)': 'protecting when propitiated (?)'.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. See §228.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. PB. ApMB. See §60.

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ (SV. *kayādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. Benfey explains the SV. form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating'. This would imply metric shortening of *ā* to *a*. There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyāvāhana: kavya°*, §353.

ā sutrāvṇe (MS. KS. *bhūyīṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatīm āvrṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣīṣṭhadāvne sumatiṁ grṇānāḥ* TS. It is likely that the original form was *āsutrāvṇe*, cf. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3. The TS. form, tho impeceable, is secondary.

§356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion: *ghṛtaṁ duhata* (RV.* *duhrata*) *āśīram* RV. (both) SV. See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and VV I p. 169.

te dakṣiṇām duhate (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See VV I, l. e.

utainam (NīlarU. *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśan* (TS. NīlarU. *adṛśan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. See VV I p. 170. Followed by:

adṛśann (TS.† *adṛśann*) *udahāryaḥ* VS. TS. See *ibid.*

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *taṁ nṛmṇām athadrām* TA. See §110, and VV I p. 170.

sarasvatyā (AV. °yām) *adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; SMB. *vanāra*, but Jørgensen *manāv*; AV. *maṇāv*) *acarkṣuḥ* (KS. and SMB. Jörg. *acak*°; SMB. Cone. *carkṛdhi*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The KS. also has v.l. *acark*°, which perhaps should be read thruout. Jørgensen assumes dissimilation; see VV I p. 149.

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rīre*, VV I p. 170, and: *ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe* (TA. °kṣīre) *ghṛtam asya yoniḥ* RV. VS. TA., *ibid.* p. 214.

§357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns. These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion. It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group. In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected; cf. the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below:

bhūri śastam (SV. *śastram*) *prṛthuh svaruh* RV. SV. VS. Synonyms; but here the form without *r* is older.

atividdhā vithureṇā cid astrā (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption.

na kir devā minīmasi RV.: *na ki devā inīmasi* SV. Anomalous reduction of *na-kis* to *na-ki*.

sūro rathasya naptiyah (ArŚ. *naptryah*, TB. *naptriyah*) RV. AV. ArŚ. KS. TB. Feminine stems *napṭī* and *naptrī*, the latter influenced by *naptar*.

tvāṣṭīmatī (TA. Conc. *tvāṣṭrī*^o, which is a v. l. in Poona ed., its text *tvāṣṭī*^o) *te sapeya* TS. ApŚ. TA.: *tvāṣṭrmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvāṣṭrī*^o, ApŚ. *tvāṣṭu*^o) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The MS. MŚ. ApŚ. forms are Prakritic in vocalism. In the Tait. school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvāṣṭr* is, as it were, feminized. Add to VVI §345.

praty etā vāmā . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar (ŚŚ. °*vakta*, v. l. °*vaktar*) *uta . . .* KB. ŚŚ.: *praty etā sunvan . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta . . .* AŚ. The form can only be construed as nom.; °*vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for °*vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991). But it looks as if all texts intended °*vaktar*. Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ., p. 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*; but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error. Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatusstilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is °*vaktar* used as nom.? Cf. the nom. neut. (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p. 205 supra.

viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyaḥ* VS. TS. See §783.

vaptū (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. °*ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals.

ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraṁ gamyāt* PB. Synonyms.

matyai śrutāya (mahe śrotāya) cakṣase AV. (both)

gharmanī pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*, MS. °*trā*) *vāt* (MS. *vet*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. TA. ŚB. *yajata* (°*tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

gaur dhenubharyā (HG. *dhenur bharyā*) ApMB. HG. See §818.

agner agneyāny (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* (one ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*) MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS. and probably of MS., is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending. 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case. KS. has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

brhaspatisutasya (TS. MS. add *ta*, VS. VSK. ŚB. add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS. *indo*, VS. ŚB. *indor*) *indriyāvataḥ . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Gen.: voc.

sa viśvācīr (KS. °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tūcīḥ* (KS. °*cī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The KS. changes an accus. plur., with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding pāda. *devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS. AŚ.Vait. Cf. pree., and §732.

asmadrātū madhumatīr (KS. °tī) . . . MS. KS. ŚŚ. and others; §800. *gaurīr* (°rī) *mimāya* . . . , see §545.

4. Presence or absence of *v*

§358. Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338-44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history.

v initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *ṛṣabha* and *vṛṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal.

vṛṣabheṇa (TS. ṛṣ°) *vaṣṭā* TS. KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS., in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS. begins with *v*-.

vatso virājo vṛṣabho matinām AV.: *pītā virājām ṛṣabho rayīṇām* TB.

Observe that *ṛṣ*- is preceded by a final *-m*, *vṛṣ*- by a final vowel. It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236).

vṛṣabheṇa (TS. ṛṣ°) *gāḥ* (KS. *gāvah*) TS. KS. KSA. The single ms. of KSA. has corruptly *āsvā-vṛṣa*°, which Von Schroeder emends to *āsvān vṛ*°, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS. reading (*āsvān ṛṣ*°) should be adopted.

vṛṣabham (VS.* ṛṣ°) *naryāpasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. (both) MS. TB.

Here preceded by a consonant.

ṛṣabhāya (MS. *vṛṣ*°) *garayā* (TS. KSA. *rājñe garayah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

A consonant precedes.

ṛṣabho (KS. *vṛ*°) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A consonant precedes.

vṛṣabho 'si *svargah* AV.: *vṛṣabho* 'si *svargo lokah* TB. Initial in verse. *kakubham* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*ham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam vṛṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *astabhnād dyām vṛṣabho* (TS. MS. *dyām vṛṣ°*) *antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ.

bṛhad vṛṣabham (TB. *vṛ°*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *vṛ°*) *gām vayo dadhat* VS. TB.

śākvarā (LŚ. *ye śāk°*) *vṛṣabhā* (AV. *vṛṣ°*) *ye svarājāḥ* AV. LŚ. Note the vowel preceding.

rathe akṣeṣu vṛṣabhasya (KS. TB. °*su vṛ°*; so AV. comm., and so Ppp. intends, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 204) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* ViDh.

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process:

te arṣantu te varṣantu . . . LŚ.: *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. Roots *arṣ* 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *varṣ-* in AV.

rjite (KS. *vṛj°*) *pari vṛūdhi nah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Initial in the verse: Von Schroeder says on KSA., 'wohl fehlerhalt für *rjite*'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vṛūdhi*.

śalmalir vṛddhyā (KSA. *ṛddhyā*) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. Synonyms.

agne vājojīd vājam tvā . . . VS. ŚB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.: *ājīn tvāgne* . . . MŚ.

Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāja°*. *vareṇyakraṭūr* (AV. °*tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vīreṇyāḥ kratur indraḥ suśastih* RV.

hṛtsu kratun varuṇo (MS. °*nam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.† For the RV. original is substituted *vikṣv* after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusstilger' *v* and other phonetic changes (cf. especially §153a). On MS. see §869 (a further, graphic change).

tad āyuh (ApŚ. *vāyuh*) MS. KS. ApŚ. 'That is life (wind, breath)'. *asun* (AV. TS. *vasun*) *gharman divam* (VS. *sva*) *ā tiṣṭhatānu* (AV. *rohatānu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *asu* 'life': *vasu* 'weal' (with ungrammatical *m*); preceded by vowel; *asu* is original, as shown by RV. 10. 14. 12, 15. 1 (cf. 10. 15. 9, 10).

devā gāturido gātum vītvā (VSK. *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Cf. *gātum vītvā gātum ihi* MS. ApŚ.; *devā gāturido* (MŚ. adds *gātum vītvā*) *gātum yajñāya vīdata* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following *ita*.

te iṣaḥ (KS. *viśve*, MS. *tvā eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhūri-retasaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On MS. see §694. KS. clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels.

dhiṣaṇe vīdū (VS. VSK. *vīdvī*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īdīte*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vīdayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īdethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §169.

tigmam anīkam vīditam sahasvat AV.: *tigmam āyudham vīdītam* (KS. °*dham vīdītam*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV. is still farther afield, see §169.

yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (KS. *anu*°) RV. KS. ApŚ. 'Who . . . fights against us.' KS. seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us'. Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'. KapŚ. *vanuṣyā*.

namo vīdhryāya (MS. *vīdhriyāya*, p.p. *vīdhryāya*; TS. *nama vīdhriyāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both forms are obscure; TS. probably secondary. See Keith's note.

īśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (SV. *īyase*) RV. SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV.; reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' with a vengeance!

mahīva dyaur adha (AV. *vadha*) *tmanā* RV. AV. *vadhatmánā* (sic) not divided in p.p., and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption; he translates the RV. Still, the AV. may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'.

ahar (MS. *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *ahar*, adverb. 'by day'. One ms. of MS. with p.p. *vahad* (*q* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusstilger'.

viśām vavarjuṣīṇām (AV. *viśām avar*°) RV. AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhis*)', Bloomfield, *JAOs* 35. 275. The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt.). Cf. Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.

mahī no iātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV.: *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV. Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'.

abhūr āpīnām (HG. °*ṇām*; AV. mss. *v āpī°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. Others, §46.

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretam vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā tvā ke cīn nī (AV. *cīd ṛī*) *yemur vim* (SV. *cīn nī yemur in*, TA. *cīn nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TA. *vim*, acc. of *vi*, secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id*).

vīṇvīr yāmann avardhayan VS.: *viḍvīr yāman ravardhayan* TB. (Conc.).

But Poona ed. of TB. has correctly *yāmann avar°*.

§361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v* (after a vowel; 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*: *pro ārata* (TB. 'rūrata) *maruto durmadā iva* RV. TB. 'Rush along, Maruts, like madmen.' Conim. on TB. *avārata dhāvata*.

uruṣya rāya eṣo (VSK. *rāyo 'reṣo*, i.e. *ava, iṣo*; TS. MS. KS. *rāyaḥ sam iṣo*) *yajasva* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *ava-yaj* 'remove by sacrifice' with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept.

§362. A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word:

agninendreṇa somena . . . upa te huve savāham (KSA. *huve 'sā aham*) TS. KSA. 'I summon for thee, O offering': 'I, so and so (*asau* 'N.N.'), summon for thee'. If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA. is original, the TS. reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding a different lexical result. The same with *brāhmaṇān ṛtvījo devān . . . , iṣṭena pakvam . . . , devān sendrān . . .*

aūkāṅkaṁ (MS. *aūkāv-aūkāṁ*, so divided in p.p.; KS. *aūkaṅkaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nothing is known of the original form or meaning of this word (said by comms. to mean 'water'); note the curious KS. variant, with short *a*. It may be that MS. has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*.

r initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial *v* before a vowel. In a few cases the same *v* appears or disappears before an initial consonant:

reśīnān (VS. ŚB. *rre°*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *reśīṣu* (sc. *te śukra śukram ādhunomi*) TS. An epithet of water, of unknown etymology and meaning; *r-* presumably unoriginal.

agṇi yajasva (AV. *vyacasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. See §57.

apāvṛṇod duro aśmarajānām (MS. *asmad-rathānām*, p.p. *asmin, ra°*) RV. MS. TA. The MS. is hardly interpretable.

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto grhāṇa* (ŚG. *patireto grbhāya*)
 ŚG. ApMB. HG. Cf. §354. *vy asya* 'open' must be intended;
yasya makes no sense.

v not initial

§364. Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741:

satavasemaṇ (KS. *sva°*) *yajñam divi deveṣu dhattām* MS. KS. TB.

sūro na svayugrabhiḥ (SV. *sayu°*) RV. SV.

vīśvā dveṣāṇsi tarati svayugrabhiḥ (SV. *sayu°*) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura).

indra svayugbhīr matsveha (ApŚ. *sayugbhīr didyun na matsvā madāya*)
mahe raṇāya AV. ApŚ.

yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda . . . sakṣaya (MŚ. *svakṣaya*) *ehi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem):

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Followed by:

tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyaṁ trat RV.: *tvām maho vṛṇate* (TB. ApŚ. *vṛṇate naro*) *nānyaṁ trat*, same texts.

tam (TA. *tvam*) *u nir vāpayā punaḥ* RV. TA.

tvām (MS. *tām*) *śaśvanta* (MS. °*tā*) *upa yanti vājāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

paramām tam (TB. ApŚ. *tvā*) *parāvataṁ* AV. TB. ApŚ.

etat tvātra pratīmanvāno (AŚ. °*vanvāno*) *asmī* (AŚ. *īasmin*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ.

Vait.: *etat tām pratīmanvāno asmīn* LŚ.

yā tām rātrīm upāsmāhe PG.: *yām tvā rātry upāsmāhe* (TS. *upāsate*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. SMB.: *ye tvā rātry* (MG. *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS. MG.

tvām gopāya MG.: *tām gopāya* etc., see Cone.

prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (TA. *tat*) RV. TA. Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun.

tayānantam (MŚ. *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ. *lokam*) *aham jayāni* (MŚ. °*mī*) AŚ.† ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

tayā (ApMB. *trayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB. °*ti*, v. 1. °*tu*) ApMB. HG.

tayāham (MS. *trayā°*) *śāntyā . . . śāntim karomi* MS. TA.: *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ . . . śamayāmy aham* AV.

trayā (TAA. 10. 1. 9 *tayā*) *hatena pāpena* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

yajuryuktam sāmabhīr āktakham tvā (MS. *ṛktakham tā*) MS. TA. The words are bad enough in either case. MS. p.p. *ṛkta-khām*, *tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic; *ṛktakham* is not in any lexicon. But *āktakham* is little better. TA comm.: *āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādṛśam; sāmagānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati*. (!)—Boehtlingk, p.w. 2. 293, 'dessen Büchse geschmiert ist'.

puras tvā (ŚŚ. *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object *tvā*. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.) in the secondary ŚŚ.

yat tvemahe (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. All mss. and comm. of SMB. agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm., unbelievably: *te tvām* (!) *yat phalam mahe* (!) *tan no 'smabhyan juṣasva prayachety arthaḥ*.

kva (SV. *kā*) *pratnā va āhutiḥ* RV. SV.

§366. Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v*. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf. VV I p. 121:

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇo*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (In MS. *raṇe* is a noun.)

āpas tvā sam ariṇan (MS. *ariṇvan*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *āpaḥ sam ariṇan* TS. KS.

manai (MŚ. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See VV I pp. 76, 121.

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated:

jananta (SV. *jinvanta*) *uṣaso bhagam* RV. SV.

§367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*; but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption:

asya pītā (SV. *pītrā*) *svarridaḥ* RV. SV. Lect. fae. in SV. for *pītā*, loc. sing. of *pīti*, 'in the drinking of it'.

yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī (ApMB. *kṛtī*) RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form (v. l. *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom. sg. of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt. It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.); the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛt(v)y-a-*.

datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattvāyāsmā°*, AŚ. *dattāyāsmā°*, corrupt for *dattvā°*, SMB. *dattāsmā°*) *draviṇeha bhudram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS. 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity.'

hotā viṣṭimena (ŚŚ. *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV. 20. 135. 5, AŚ.† 8. 3. 24, ŚŚ. Vait. This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed. of AV. and therefore in Cone. Most ŚŚ. mss. *viṣṭi*; per contra, v. l. of AV. *viṣṭvī*. It is very obscure in any case.

daśasyantāmṛtāya (ApMB. *°tvāmṛtāya*) *kam* RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple., but may fairly be called corrupt; cf. Winternitz, p. xx.

yuktvā (TB. Conc. *yuktā*, Poona ed. text and comm. correctly *yuktvā*) *harī vṛṣaṇā yāhy arvān* (MS. KS. *arvāk*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

apālām indra (MG. *°ras*) *triṣ (triḥ) pūtvī* (AV. *°vā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrtvī a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The last seems clearly corrupt. [*indrah pāśena ṛsiktvā vah* ApMB.: *indrah pāśena vah ṛsiktvā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG.: *indrapāśena sītvā* PG. The true reading is *sītvā*.]

§368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes:

madhvo (SV. *madho*) *rasam sudhamāde* RV. SV. These alternative forms of gen. sing. of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhuah*: *madhoḥ*; see Cone. p. 681a.

ed u madhvo (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madintaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *vaso vasroḥ purusprah* RV.: *vasor vaso purusprah* SV.

asamṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh (TB. *mātvroh*) *śucī* RV. TB. With *mātvroh*, guaranteed by all mss. and Vaidikas, cf. perhaps *pītrvya*; and note that *mātroh* in RV. is trisyllabic.

mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām SV.: *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS. Root *gah*, with different suffixes.

gamabhūraiḥ pathibhūḥ pūreyaiḥ (AV. *pūryāṇaiḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The AV. is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification. (cf. next.

prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ (AV. *pūryōṇaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG. Cf. prec.

aprajastān pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.: *aprajāstraṁ mārtavatsum* AV. Others, §650. Suffixes *tā* and *tra*.

§369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf. Wackernagel I §232c: *saumyās trayah śvitiṅgāḥ* (KSA. *śt°*) TS. KSA.

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cīt-*; see §195:

citra (VS. *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS.

citra (AV. *śvitra*) *raṁśitā* AV. MS.

§370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below:

śiśīte śrṅge rakṣase (AV. *raṁśobhyo*) *vi nikṣe* (KS. *nukṣe*, AV. mss. *nikṣre*), RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. The Berlin ed. and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm. that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa*. See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinikṣva* occurs in the next verse.

dhunīkṣāgneyī (VSK. *°ṣvā°* or *°ṣyā°*) VS. VSK. MS. And others; see §255.

svarṣām (TB. *suvar°*) *apsām* (TB. Poona ed., twice, *ṛapsvām*, in text and comm.) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB. *apsvām* is uninterpretable.

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS. *dhana°*, TS. *°yīd*, KSA. *°ycd*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. The text of MS. is based on p.p.; the saṁh. mss. are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunairddhamagandhir*). It seems that *ru* in these mss. is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS. as in the other texts.

§371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group:

āpo devīḥ svadantu (VSK. *sad°*) *svāttam cīt sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *svāttam cīt sadavam havyam āpo devīḥ svadatainam* TS. ApŚ. The reading of VSK. is poor (cf. *svāttam*). Cf. next.

em enad adya vaśavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu (MS. *svad°*) MS. KS. TB.

Here *svad°* does not belong; the reverse of the prec.

aparihvṛtāḥ (MS. *°hṛtāḥ*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV. MS. KS. Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption.

tuvīdyumnam vibhvasaham (SV. *vibhā°*) RV. SV. *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhā*

(for °van) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.

apām rasam udvayasam (KS. *udayaṅsam*, TA. *udayaṅsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing'; KS. and TA. a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur. aor. of *ud-yam*. KS. may intend the same with *udayaṅsam* followed by *s*; but in VV I p. 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing. *viśvaṁ tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'si* PrāṇāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'si* MU. The Conc. says, 'read *viśantu*' for both. In the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadāṁ Samuccayaḥ*, An. Skt. Ser., 1895), the MU. passage (p. 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm.; but the PrāṇāgU. (p. 307), *viśvaṁ tu* in both. Certainly *viśantu* must be read.

anītir asi dire . . . TS. KS. JB. PB. Vait.: *anītir asi* GB. The Conc. calls the latter a 'blunder'; yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anītir*. *mītrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām* (MS. °hnā) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. The AŚ. form is difficult and suspicious.

satyaujasā dṛṇhaṇā (MS. *durhṇā*, KS.† *dṛhaṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druḥvaṇo yau nudethe* AV. See §305.

vande dāruṇi vandamāno vivakmi RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. See VV I p. 218.

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ (SV. *kayādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. See §355.

anūkāśena bāhyam MS.: *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS.: *antarṇyānūkāśam* TS. KSA. The VS. reading is apparently a blunder; comm. reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows.

§371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:

uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pururāṇo deva* etc. VS. ŚB. LŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj. reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning; but Mahīdhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'.

5. Presence or absence of *s*

§372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s*. Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś*: *paś*, *kr*: *skr*, etc.). See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373. Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word:

sa prathamah saṁskṛtir viśvakarmā TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sā* (MS. MŚ. *yā*) *prathamā saṁskṛtir viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB. (Pratīka, MŚ.) The root *kr* regularly appears as *skr* with *sa*, so that the Tait. form is irregular.

ut te stabhnāmi (TA. *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīm trat pari* RV. AV. TA. Cf. Whitney §233c. In TA. this law operates in spite of tmesis; this is not without parallel.

tegān (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stegān*) *daṁṣṭrābhyām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV. has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS. MS. KSA. the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS. it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KŚ.: *sa tīm* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*; MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt; at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS. (:tarī AV.).

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned; and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds:

dīvaḥ saṁsprśas (MS. *samprcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. And:

prthivyāḥ sampr̥cas (TS. TB. ApŚ. °caḥ, VS. ŚB. *sam̐spr̥cas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *saṁ-pr̥c* and *saṁ-spr̥s*, practically synonyms. See §195.

divam agreṇāspr̥kṣaḥ †VSK., wrongly quoted in Cone. as °*āpr̥kṣaḥ* *divam agreṇāspr̥kṣat* (TB. °*āprāt*) VS. TB. And others.

viśvā spr̥dho (AV. *m̐rdho*) *abhimātir jayema* RV. AV. TA.

āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu (AV. *spr̥santām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *m̐santām*) RV. AV. TA.

yatrāspr̥kṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuvam̐ yatra vāsah*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vr̥kṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG.

sa bhūmim̐ viśvato (ArŚ. *sarvato*, VS. *sarvata*) *vrtvā* (VS. *spr̥tvā*) RV. ArŚ. AV. VS. TA. See §200.

tutho 'si janadhāyāḥ (PB. °*yah*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. See §93.

saṁsrārabhāgā (VS. ŚB. *saṁsrara*°; MS. °*gāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *br̥hantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §§96, 747.

§376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms); the rest is sporadic: *ajoṣā* (SV. *saḥ*°) *vr̥ṣabham̐ patim* RV. AV. SV. *ajoṣa* 'unersättlich, gierig'. *sacetasūv* (VSK. °*sū*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau saretasau* TB. And others; see §180.

ā (VaradapU. *sā*) *naḥ śṛṇvann ūtibhiḥ sīda sādānam* (VaradapU. *śāsvat*) RV. TS. KS. VaradapU. The comm. is hard put to it to explain *sā*; he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact inexplicable.

yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (KS. *yavā āyavā ūmā † evā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvū evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. The form *sabda* of TS., for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure; doubtless due to some analogy.

anāgaso yathā sadam̐ it saṁ kṣiyema Vait.: *anāgaso adham̐ it saṁkṣayema* TB. See §110.

§377. The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma*: *bhūyāśma*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here: *agnir no vanate* (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṁsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Present and *s*-aorist.

tasya te bhaktivānsaḥ syāma (MS. KS. °*vāno bhūyāśma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasyās te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ. 4. 13. 7† *bhaktivāno bhūyāśma*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both). Suffixes *vaṁs* and *van*.

6. Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings); and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter; and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like; some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon:

pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira (TA. *tiraḥ*, Poona ed. *tira*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS. MŚ. *tapah*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahaḥ*, em., mss. *mahaḥ*) AV. ŚŚ.

niyudbhir (AV. *viyugbhir*) *vāyar* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. †*muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Add to VV I §25.

viśrasmāt (TA. *divo vi*°) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. °*yah*) RV. TA.

tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ SV. JB.: *emām anu sarpata* MS.

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB. °*mah*) RV. TB.

aśvinā bhiṣajāvataḥ (MS. °*tam*, TB. †°*ta*, both edd.) VS. MS. TB.

anyavratasya (TA. *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (TA. °*mah*, RV. *saścire*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (corrupt).

prati bhāgam na dīdhīma (SV. °*mah*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

viratāḥ smaḥ (ŚG. *sma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

abhiratāḥ smaḥ (YDh. *sma ha*) ViDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*smaḥ*: *sma-ha*).

tasmīn rayam upahūtās tava smaḥ (MŚ. *sma*) TB. MŚ.

tau saha (VS. ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah* . . . *prasārayāvahai* (ŚB. °*yāva*, MS. °*yāvah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

viśvāḥ pinvathah (TB. °*tha*) *svasarasya dhenāḥ* RV. MS. TB. (comm. °*thah* in Bibl. Ind. ed., but Poona ed. °*tha*). This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant; cf. §978 ff.

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* RV. SV. AV. AA. MŚ. See VV I p. 101.

agne (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156.

sam agnis tapasāgata VS. MS. ŚB. (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS. edition separated by a mark of punctuation): *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (**gataḥ*, Poona ed. *gata*) TA.* As ppl. *gataḥ* is defensible. See VV I p. 161.

varebhir varān abhi ṣu prasīdataḥ (ApMB. *pra sīdata*) RV. ApMB. A participle (gen. sing., Grassmann; acc. pl., Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur. in ApMB.

iha rama (HG. †*ramaḥ*) MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. HG. Here *ramaḥ* is a noun form.

§380. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms:

punar āgāḥ punarnava (AV. °*ṇava* and °*ṇavaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

nīcerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Vocative in TS. TB. by assimilation to an adjoining formula; see §150.

rtena (MG. *rte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (MG. °*ṇā*, ApMB. HG. °*ṇāv*) *adhi roha rañša* (MG. *vañsaḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Here the nom. is secondary.

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS. °*taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

yajñāḥ praty u śthāt (KS. *pratyasṭhāt*, v. l. *praty u*°; MŚ. adds *sumatau matīnām*) KS. MŚ.: *yajña pratīṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

īndraḥ (*indra*) *somasya pītaye* (also: °*ye vṛṣāyate*) RV. (all three)

indra (MS. *indraḥ*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS. °*daśenaujaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

paramajyā ṛcīṣamaḥ (SV. † °*ma*) RV. SV. AV.

derebhīyo (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanaḥ* (RV.* °*na*) RV. (both) ApŚ.

sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ AV.: *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.

pavamānaḥ (SV. °*na*) *saṁtanīm eṣi kṛṇran* RV. SV.

tvastṛ devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ MG.: *tvastṛaḥ derebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

yo agnīḥ kravyavāhanaḥ (VS. KS. *karya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kravyavāhana* TS. See §353.

hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ HG.: *hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB.: *suwīriṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. The latter is doubtless corrupt; a voc. is required.

indra kratvā (MS. *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. See §664.

ayā somah (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV. See VV I §328.

ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana (KS. TB.† ApŚ.† °*naḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

āpr̥no 'si saṃpr̥naḥ (ApŚ. *āpr̥noṣi saṃpr̥na*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is secondary and poor.

indra karmasu no 'rata VS. KS.: *indrah karmasu no 'ratu* TB. (but read *indra . . . 'rata*, see VV I p. 260).

indra (MS. *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is hardly construable.

indrah (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indra (MS. *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV. MS. KS.

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB.

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ. *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. The nom. is not construable; see Knauer's note.

mitra satyānām pate (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ.: *mitrah satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

viśvā (KS. PG. *viśvās ca*) †*deva* (PG. *devaḥ*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS. °*ṣyāḥ*, PG.† °*ṣyak*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

vr̥h̥iṇām medha (MŚ. *medhaḥ*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

sajoṣā indra (TB. *indrah*) *sagaṇo marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ.

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified; sometimes involving different but related stems:

pibāt somam amadann (AV. *somaṃ mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayaḥ* (AV. *iṣṭe*)

AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88; loc. sing. of *iṣṭa*: nom. pl. of *iṣṭi*.

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

Loc. sing.: instr. pl. Cf. §706.

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and: *priyam*) RV. SV. As prec.

candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṃ dadhānāḥ (KS. TB. comm. and Poona ed. °*nā*)

VS. KS. TB.: *śukraṃ na jyotir amṛtaṃ dadhānā* MS. (but p.p.

°*nāḥ*). The plural agrees with *āśvinā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject; the fem. sing. with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone.

dhanaṃjayaṃ dharuṇaṃ dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṇham acyutaṃ*

pārayiṣṇu AV.: *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Change of

- gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary; see §268.
- sa viśvācīr* (KS. °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS. °cī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Change of acc. pl. to dual, explained in §357. But the actual reading is *ghr̥tācīr* (before initial vowel following).
- tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV. (taken by Whitney as loc. plur.): *stanī mandras suprayakṣu* KS. (apparently felt as nom. sing.) And others; all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374.
- saṃhītāsi viśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °pī, TS. ApŚ.* °pīh) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis) In TS. the old nom. fem. of the *vr̥kīs* type.
- khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Both words unintelligible; §69. Perhaps *h* in ApMB. ending of *vr̥kīs* type.
- anāhanasyaṃ vasaṇaṃ cariṣṇu* (ApMB. HG. *ja*°, PG. *jariṣṇu*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See §57. The nom. masc. transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.
- yenā samatsu sāsaḥ* (SV. °hih, MŚ. °hi) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §584.
- aghadviṣṭā devajātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ. In AV. nom. sing. fem. In ApŚ., which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing.; but the verb is plural, and the Conc. gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom. plur.).
- sīrāh* (TS. MS. KS. *sarāh*, AV. *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS. MS. KS. °nīh) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtvā*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Sing. in AV., plur. in the others.
- ya ābabhūva* (PB. āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāh*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. *viśvāh* is certainly wrong.
- vīruc chapathayopanī* AV.: *vīḍu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ. (corrupt; Caland adopts the AV. reading). See §272.
- uta vām uṣaso budhi* RV. GB. Conc. *budhih* for GB., and so all mss. apparently read, but Gaastera emends to *budhi* (loc. sing. 'at the awakening of dawn').
- arāddhyā edidhiṣuḥpatim* VS.: *ārādhyai* (read with Poona ed. *ar*°) *ḍidhiṣūpatim* TB. The VS. form is anomalous; as a fem. word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom. form in composition is absurd.
- avasyuvātā brhatī* (TS.° *tīr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS. °rīh) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.
- īmaṃ yajñam avantu no ghr̥tācīh* (MS. KS. AŚ. *avatu yā* [AŚ. *no*] *ghr̥tācī*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.

paraśur (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tīḥ*) AV. TS. *svasti* is familiar as both fem. and neut.

viṣṭhitāḥ (AV. °*tā*) *prthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB. Fem. pl.: neut. pl. (in different contexts).

śam rātrī (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātrīḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. TA. MS. All noms. sg.

śatamūlā śatāṅkurā TA. MahānU.: *śatamūlāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. Fem. sing.: plur.

śṛṇvantv āpo dhiṣaṇāś ca devīḥ (MS.* *dhiṣaṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS.* KS. ŚB. Sing.: plur.

viśo (SV. *dīśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc. masc. is required; *prabhu*, repeated in the comm., is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.

saṁśitam kṣatram (MS. KS. TA. add *me*) *jīṣṇu* (AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jīṣṇuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The AV. form would be masc., which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts *jīṣṇu*.

vatso jarāyu (KS. *garbho jarāyuḥ*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc. in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc.

sa naḥ prthu (TB. *prthuḥ*) *śravāyyam* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut. to masc.

sīsam ca me trapu (TS. °*puś*) *ca me . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The rare stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*.

sapatnūr ṭabhībḥūrārī (ApMB. °*rīḥ*) RV. ApMB. Only a nom. sing. fem. can be construed. See Winternitz, Introd., xxii.

sarasvatī (AV. TB. † °*tīḥ*) *śrapasaḥ sadantu* (AV. *sadantām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Whitney calls the °*tīḥ* form a blunder and emends. This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom. sing. like the other.

sarasvatyā (TV. °*tyāḥ*) *supippalaḥ* VS. MS. TB. Instr.: gen.

sahasraśīrṣā (ArS. °*śāḥ*) *puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Both nom. sing.; °*śīrṣāḥ* as if from an *s*-stem (contamination from *śīras*?).

atīvīddhā vithureṇā cid astrā (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is doubtless corrupt.

varṣman kakubhi (TB. Conc. °*bhiḥ*, MS. *kakubbhiḥ*) *śīśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. See §400.

upahūtāḥ sapta hotrāḥ TS. TB. ŚŚ.: *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB. Sing.: plur.

agne tvam puriṣyaḥ VS. KS. ŚB.: *agneḥ puriṣyam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Voc.: gen.

hiraṇyayāḥ (MS. °yā) *śucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °yāḥ; MS. seems corrupt.

so 'haṁ vājam saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy ṭagneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Voc.: gen.

saprattha (MŚ. °thaḥ) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and 'jugupah) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both voc.; stems in *a* and *as*.

imā brahma brahmavāhaḥ (TS. † °ha) RV. AV. KS. TB. As prec.

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °vaḥ, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. Vocatives; *s* and *a*-stems. On KS. see §749.

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.: *dātum cec chaknuvāṁsaḥ* (Poona ed. *chaknavān sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA. See §826.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyaḥ śuciḥ (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* might pass as an adverb.

dūrvā rohatu puṣpiṇī (RV. *rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ*) RV. AV. Sing.: plur. *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS. *yās ca ṣaṭpadāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Sing.: plur.

trṇaṁ vasānā (HG. °nāḥ) *sumanā asas* (HG. *asi*) *tvam* AV. HG. The form can only be nom. sing. fem.; HG. is impossible.

prthivyā (MS.*°vyāḥ) *sambhava* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note).

§382. In adverbial forms:

athā (AV. *adhaḥ*, comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhaḥ*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV. See §74.

śṛṇvanty (PB. °tv) *āpo adha* (PB. 'dhaḥ) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV.: *paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. See §820. The variation *-mukhāḥ* (bahuvrīhi): *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section.

§383. Involving different divisions of words:

samudrād udajani vaḥ (ApŚ. *udacann iṣa*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

īdam ahaṁ rakṣo 'bhi (MS. **rakṣobhiḥ*) *saṁ ūhāmi* (TS. *saṁ dahāmi*) TS. MS. (both) KS. MŚ. As the Conc. suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must be a corruption.

girā ca (AV. *virājah*) *śruṣṭīḥ sabharū asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §57.

śarīraṁ yajñasamalam (MahānU. *yajñah śa°*) ... TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. See §818.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N.

āsann ā (SV. PB. *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS. °tu) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

pra su (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṁ*, MG. *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

ūrjaṁ bibhrad vasuṇiḥ (*vaḥ sumanāḥ*, *vaḥ suvaṇiḥ*, *vasumanāḥ*) . . ., see §227.

upānasaḥ saparyan RV.†: *upo nu sa sap°* SV.

kavir yaḥ putrah sa im ā (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. *imāḥ* has no standing.

ava (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṁ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛśāmasi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reading of MS. is secondary but simple.

indraḥ pāśena ṭsiktṵā vaḥ (HG. *pāśena vaḥ ṭsiktṵā*) ApMB. HG.: *indra-pāśena sītṵā* PG. See §819.

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* MS. (corrupt; see §838).

adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ sam āna (MS. *Samhitā*, *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. MS. N. *sam āna*, verb; *samānaḥ*, adj.

vīreṇyaḥ kratuṛ indraḥ suśastīḥ RV.: cf. *vareṇyakratūr* (°tur, *īdeṇya-kratūr*) *aham*, §554. Conc. suggests *vīreṇyakratuṛ*; Oldenberg, *Noten*, goes further and suggests *vareṇya-* (or °yaḥ) *kratur*.

vāṇmanaścakṣuḥśrotraḥjīhvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūtisaṁkalpā (TA. TAA. °ākūtīḥ *saṁkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūtīḥ (to be sure, one ms. of TA. reads like MahānU.), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound.

§384. Miscellaneous:

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB. *jatṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vakṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °da) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57; *ātṛdaḥ* apparently abl. sing. of a noun; MS. corrupt, perhaps feels *ātṛda* as imperative.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. (but most mss. *apa*; so read; cf. §817).

apa (MG. *apaḥ*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV. MG. Here all mss. of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense.

parītoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. The true reading in both seems to be *udarpithaḥ*; see §63.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. On the obviously corrupt LŚ. see §739.

gharmaṁ śocantaḥ (AŚ. °ta, ŚŚ. °tam) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV I p. 165.

aghāya bhūma harivah parādai (MS. °*daiḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. *parādai* is an infinitive; *parādaiḥ* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra; despite the 1st person verb *bhūma!*); or else as an instr. plur. 'by betrayal'. *tām ha jaritar na pratyagrbbhan* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Gaastra reads *naḥ* in GB. (v. l. *na*); but the sense clearly requires *na*. *na sīsarīdata* (HG. †*sīsarīdataḥ*) ApMB. HG. Both hopelessly corrupt; Winternitz p. xxvi suggests *sīsarī dataḥ*. *adṛūhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi* (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *samudraṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na subhvas tasthivāṁsam* AV. And others, §§119, 789. *naḥ*, pronoun: *na*, comparative particle. *bhiṣajaiṁ na* (MS. *naḥ*) *sarasvatīm* VS. MS. TB. *na*, comparative particle.

7. Presence or absence of *h*

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions; but cf. the startling *saṁjigāire* in the first variant under §387.

§386. Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical; it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: *sa ugrāḥ sa hi* (PG. *i*) *havyo babhūva* TS. PG. This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and'; the mss. are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi*. *hīmkārāya* (and, *hīmkṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB.: *īmkārāya* (and, *īmkṛtāya*; KSA. †*im*°) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Interjections.

tasminn (AV. *yasminn*) *ā* (VS. *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* RV.

AV. VS.: cf. *tasminn ārpitā bhu° vi°* RV.

cakṣur yeṣāṁ (v. l. *hy eṣāṁ*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ. And others; see §340. *yasyām idaṁ viśvaṁ* (MS. *viśvaṁ hy asyāṁ*) *bhuvanam āriveśa* VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB.

mahaś (MS. *mahī*) *cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS.

dhiyo hinvāno (MS. *dhiya invāno*) *dhiya in no avyāt* (RV. *avyāḥ*) RV. MS. TS. Rime words.

antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānaḥ (GB. *hrīyamāṇaḥ*, v. l. *hīyamānaḥ*, but no v. l. in Gaastra) RV. GB. See §353.

uta no brahmann ariṣaḥ (MS. °*man haviṣaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. The secondary *haviṣaḥ* is unaccented in MS., perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu*: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.

tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi AV.: *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG. See §47.

atho mātātho pitā TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *hato hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. The TA. probably secondary.

rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ (AV.* *atho amīva*°) RV. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. If the AV. variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

āntrīmukhaḥ . . . HG.: *ālikhann animiṣaḥ* . . . *hantrīmukhaḥ* . . . PG. Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem. form of *hantr*).

atho ye kṣullakā iva AV.: *hataḥ krimīṇām kṣudrakaḥ* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA.

āsanniṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

vaniṣthor hr̥dayād (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

§387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention; in it all mss. of Vait. are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *saṁjigāire*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant:

tāḥ prācyā (Vait. °*yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† °*hire*, Vait. *saṁjigāire*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

sā (read *sa*) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy araṇīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *ahāḥ, ānī* (sic!), *yāmānaḥ*) MS.: *sa no rucam̐ dhehy ahr̥ṇīyamānaḥ* TA. Read doubtless *ahr̥ṇīyamānaḥ* in MS.; the absurd p.p. points in this direction.

marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*). The word is wholly obscure.

tujo junā (ArS. *jane*) *vanam̐ svaḥ* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo vanam̐* (ŚŚ. *balam̐*, emend.) *sahaḥ* AA. ŚŚ. The passage is obscure; we see little to choose between *svaḥ* and *sahaḥ*.

pary agnīm ahr̥ṣata (VSK.† *arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme 'gnīm arṣata* AV. (v. l. in AV. *ariṣata*). Ppp. (Barret, *JAOI* 43. 99) reads as in RV. except *aharṣata*, with one ms. of VSK.; Barret em. *ahr̥ṣata*.

CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse; and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX.

1. Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses; sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss.; sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232; Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says l. c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following:

śunddhi (PG. MG. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ* AG. PG. ApMB.

MG. Many mss. of ApMB. read *śundhi*.

o ṣu (MS. *ṣū*) *vartta* (MS. KS. *varta*) *maruto vipram acha* RV. MS. KS.

The spelling *vartta* (2d plural) is etymological; Müller prints *varta* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll. cc.). Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss. and editions in such cases. Thus the word *pattra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in:

śyenasya patraṁ (MS. *pattraṁ*) *na plīhā śacībhiḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB., where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

ukthapatra (MS. *°rā*, TS. *°pattra*) *īdyo grbhītaḥ* VS.† TS. MS. KS.† ŚB.†, the editor of TS. alone prints *°pattra*, all others (contrary to the Conc.) *°patra*; but most mss. of TS. actually read *°patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS. in:

yena (yenā) rṣayas (yenarṣ°) tapasā satram (TS.† *sattram*) *āsate* (VS. ŚB. *āyan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.,

where again most mss. of TS. read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

tā yā devā . . . ā ca śāsvā (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *śāssvā*) *ca gurasva* VS. TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*.

īyaṁ vaḥ sā satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadhaddhvam (MS. *°dadhvam*)

TS. MS.: *eṣā vas sā satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS.

Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*.

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring; to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated.

arhann idanī dayase viśvam abhvam (TA. *abbhuvam*, MS. *ā dhanvā*)

RV. MS. TA. The TA. may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word; he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)'. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

ut tvā (SV. PB. Svidh. *u ṭtvā*, two words) *mandantu somāḥ* RV. AV. SV.

PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Rvidh. Svidh. The Conc. prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV., and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first.

ya ātrṇatty (SāṁhitopaniṣadB. *ātrṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh. *avida°*)

karṇau SāṁhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N. *ātrṇoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

ayan̄ yaḥ puro vibhinaty (SV. °naty) *oḥasā* RV. SV. The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint. *agnir hotā vetv* (ŚB. *vettv*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu prāvitraṁ* ... ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. So the Conc.; TB. Poona ed. reads *vettv* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB. comm. *jānātu*). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below.

prati tvādityās tvag vettu (TB. Poona ed.† *vetu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. : *prati tvā diva* (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB. Poona ed.† *vetu*) TS. TB. And others in the context. The text of TB. actually reads *vetv-ity āha*; doubtless *vettu* is intended.

āprā (AV.* *āprād*) *dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. See VV I pp. 27, 129.

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *draviṇeha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. Here the KS. form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person. Cf. VV I p. 27.

agnir dād (TS. *dā*) *draviṇaṁ vīrapeśāḥ* RV. TS. See VV I p. 26.

satvānāṁ (KS. †*sattv*°) *pataye namaḥ* MS. KS. This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of *satvan* would be *satvanām* (cf. §494); MS. must intend gen. plur. of *sattva*, like KS.

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *ddy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

sadanān (Vait. *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait. *nv*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. Particles *u* and *nu*; the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically.

lokaṁ (RV. *ulokaṁ*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāṁī* (RV. *jāmim*) *īyatuḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ.

Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,

Pāli §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in *Pāli* and *Prakrit*; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In *Sanskrit* it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss. between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss. read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant:

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV.: *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV. TA.,

where most mss. of AV. read *yame*, but the comm. *yamed*, which is certainly intended; the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV. TA. is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV. 18. 2. 3, and VV I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions; the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently: *apsarassu* (HG. °*rāsu ca*) *yo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. *medhāpsaraḥsu*; Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh.) RVKh. MG.: *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA.

MahānU. HG. ApMB. ApG.

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected:

yā te agne 'yāśayā (VS. ŚB. 'yāḥśayā; TS. 'yāśayā *rajāśayā*) . . . VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *yā te agne rajāśayā* (VS. ŚB. *rajaḥśayā*) . . .

VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§395a. The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-*: *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. *bhajase mahad dhanam*) RV. SV.

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyai* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l. c., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved; the *rai* forms seem original: *agne samrūd iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.

ŚB. TB. (The Conc. quotes AŚ. ApŚ. under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrād* etc.)

rāyas poṣeṇa (MS. *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and: *vaḥ paśyāmi*) TS. MS. KS.

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*; a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-tama*:

indrāya (MS. MŚ. °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS. ŚB. *suṣūtamam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift; it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older. Cf. §329, *agnir hotā vetv* (*vettr*) . . .:

iṣṭam ca vītam (ŚB. AŚ. *vittam*) *ca* (ŚŚ. *cābhūt*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

śocasva devavītamah (KS. °*vittamah*) RV. RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *rocasva devavītamah* VS.

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant. They are chiefly lexical. We begin with those in which the vowel is short. Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu*:

acittapājā (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnī*; and:

acittamanā (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense; the latter is secondary.

cittim (MS. KS. MŚ. *citiṃ*) *juhomi manasā* (VS. TS. ŚB. add *ghṛtena*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19. p. 444, n. 1). *Citiṃ* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cittim*; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs. To be sure, one ms. of MS. has *cittim*; but MŚ. *citiṃ*. The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

cittim acittim (KS. ms. *†citiṃ acitiṃ*, emended by von Schroeder) *cinavad* KS.† °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV. TS. KS. Add to VV I §337. Cf. prec. *mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with *ti* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods. 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS., 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.

§400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem:
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi (TB. Conc. °bhiḥ, Poona ed. °bhi; MS.
kakubbhiḥ) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. Loc. sing.:
 instr. plur. of *kakubh*. The form *kakubhiḥ* is an impossible blend
 of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with
 Poona ed.; yet the comm. seems to have read so (but he glosses
uttamāṅge, as if loc.).

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere cor-
 ruptions and false readings:

nama ākḥidate ce prakhidate ca VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākkhidate ca prakkhi-
 date ca* TS. The curious doubling in TS. is authorized by TPr.
 14. 8; but the mss. show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's
 note on TPr., and Weber's on TS. 4. 5. 9. 2.

ayā san (*ayāḥ san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*; KS.
kṛtaḥ) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā (vayasā)
 kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. *kṛttaḥ* is
 obviously a blunder. Cf. §402.

vicṛttāya (VS. *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. *vicṛtāya* probably an
 error.

nivṛtaḥ (ŚŚ. *nivṛttaḥ*) *puruṣād dṛtiḥ* AV. ŚŚ. The passage where this
 occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any
 other.

vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat (PB. *†āruha*) AV. PB. TA. ApŚ.
 In all followed by *diva-*; *āruhad* is the actual reading. PB. has a
 phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing. impv. is inap-
 propriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last
 pāda). Add to VV I §332.

phalāya, and *phallāya*, KhG.: *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB. GG. See
 §79.

samudrād udajani vaḥ (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

imāṁ narāḥ (naraḥ) kṛnuta vedim etya (eta, elat), see §328.

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV.
 MS. TA. Corruption in MS.

viviṇi (*vicīṇi*, *viviṇṭiyai*, *viviṣṭiyai*) *svāhā*, see §866.

māyādevā avataran HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. Several HG. mss.
 read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text.

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām*
 AV. See §832.

iṣṭo yajñō bhṛgubhir draviṇodā yatibhir (MS. once *yattibhir*) *āśīrdā . . .*
 MS.† KS.† ApŚ.† The isolated *yattibhir* can only be a mistake.

pitvo (VS. MS. *pidvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaḥas* (MS. *kakuḥas*, TS. *kaśas*) . . . VS. TS. MS.

daridra (TS. °*dran*) *nīllohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Epithet of Rudra; the TS. form apparently felt as a participle. Keith, 'waster'.

apā vṛdhi parivṛtaṁ (TB. Conc. °*vṛttiṁ*, comm. °*vṛtiṁ*; Poona ed. text and comm. °*vṛtiṁ*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB.

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānaṁ (GB. Conc. *ātmanātmānaṁ*) *me mā hiñsīḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś. Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB.

rajani (AV. Berlin ed. *rajjuni*, by emend.) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation is probably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant. Caland in his translation of Vait. quotes it as reading *rājani*, perhaps by a slip.

jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indrah AV. 8. 1. 15a. Conc. says read *sammude*, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p.p. *sam-ude* 'conversation'. The comm. however connects the word with root *mud*. If this were right the variant could be classed with §306. Uncertain.

sarvīdo abhi gā adrim uṣṇan (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. Conc. suggests *muṣṇan* in RV.; see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc.

§402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases. Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant. This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position. Thus:

sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāt (VS. °*viṣāt*, LŚ. *eva kilb°*) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ. The LŚ. obviously has a secondary lect. fac., altho it makes good sense.

ayā (MS. *ayāḥ*, KS. *ayās*) *san* (KS. ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛttaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*, KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. Cf. §401.

jīvām rṣebhyaḥ pariṇīyamānām AV.: *mṛtāya jīvām pariṇīyamānām* TA. Read *mṛtebhyaḥ* in AV. with some mss. and SPP.

sarvaṁ ni śvāpayā janam RVKh. AV. Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 439, has suggested *śvāpayāj janam* as the true reading.

§403. There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following *d-*. In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: *apaścāddaghvane* (SV. *apaścāda*°) *nare* (SV. *naraḥ*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghvānnam* (AV. *apaścādaghvānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS.

ApŚ. MŚ.

paścādoṣāya glāvinam VS.: *paścāddoṣāya glāvam* TB.

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīta* (and *parī*°), pple. of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīta* (*parī*°), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious:

yat kusīdam apratītaḥ (TS. °*tītaḥ*, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. l. °*tītaḥ*; SMB. *apradattaḥ*) *mayeha* (TS. *mayi*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *apamīyam apratītaḥ yad asmi* AV.: *yāny apāmītyāny apratītāny* (TB. Poona ed. °*tītāny*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratītaḥ*, from *prati-dā* (cf. SMB.); but possibly the pple. of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (*apratītam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam*.

śyene parīto (VSK. *parīto*) *acarac ca ṛāte* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *śyene vāta ula yo 'carat parītataḥ* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*.

apaḥ siṣṭāsan svar (TB. ApŚ. *suvar*) *apratītaḥ* (TB. Conc. °*tītaḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*tītaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the double *t* has no standing.

stuhi śūraṁ vajriṇam apratīkam (TB. Conc. *apratīttam*, Poona ed. °*tītam*) MS. TB. The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible'. On MS. see §138

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: *atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV.†TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

ugraṁpaśyā (MS. *ugraṁ paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TA. Names of Apsarases. The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*; see §820.

nama ākḥidate ca prakḥidate ca VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākkhi*° *ca prakḥhi*° *ca* TS. See §401.

svāna bhrājā° . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ.: *svāna bhrāt* . . . TA.: *svān nabhrād* . . . KS.: *svān nabhrād* MS. MŚ. Keith on TS. suggests *svāna nabhrāj-* as the original form.

2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407. We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51; Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi).

usrāv (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etaṃ . . . anaśrū* (KS. *anaśśū*, v. l. °*śrū*) . . . *brahmacodanau* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

manyor mṛdhrasya (HG. *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG.: *manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG. Kirste suggests reading *rddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG. has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd°*.

krīḍī ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ. *sākī ṭcorjiṣī ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary; it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*).

āvat tam (TA. read *āvar tam*, §873) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it; to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928.

abhinne khīlye (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayum* RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. *khilībhūte*; the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha TA. Bibl. Ind.: *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. See §255.

aśvān anaśśato (KS.†ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. van Gelder, *anaśrato*) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §255.

ud u tye (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. The secondary MS. MŚ. reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*.

yad annenātirohati RV. ArS. VS. TA.: *yad anyenābhavat saha* AV. Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y*. On the nonsensical reading of AV. (the comm. has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127.

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. The assimilation is secondary.

capyaṁ (TB. Poona ed. *cappaṁ*) *na pāyur . . .* VS. MS. KS. TB. *capya* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure; *cappaṁ* may be a graphic blunder.

sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (KSA. *vṛkkā*°) TS. KSA. The TS. form is a secondary and (as shown by Av. *vṛṛḍka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding. It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf. Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s.v. *vṛkka*).

§409. A single case concerns *l*:

gāvo gulgulugandhayaḥ (Vait. *guggulu*°) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*; but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form.

§410. As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408. Besides, we find:

tan nas trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaṁ trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV. An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ., assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas. yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. AŚ. MŚ. The MŚ. is obviously corrupt; no v. l. quoted.

mītrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. °*hnā*) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

viśvavidam (AV. °*do*) *vācam aviśvamīnvām* (AV. *aviśvavinām*) RV. AV. See §236.

apa durhārddiśo jahi Kauś. Read °*dviśo*; the corruption may be graphic (§869).

§411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels:

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *prataram na*, mss. °*ran na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

daivyā (AV. *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

akṣatam ariṣṭam ilāndam SMB.: *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnaṃ gopāyanam* ŚG. Epithets of the cow; cf. the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS. 4. 2. 1: 22. 7, 10, and 4. 2. 7: 28. 12. Altho SMB. comm. says *ilāndam ilānnaṃ kṣīrādilakṣaṇam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing. *yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. '*yaṃ*') *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. l. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

ukṣantūdā maruto ghr̥tena AV. 3. 12. 4. So Conc., with Whitney's Transl., the comm., and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms. reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotriyas*; most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūtnā*. Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 366) has °*ūnā*. See §183. [*svāhākṛtasya sam u trpṇuta r̥bhavaḥ* (TB. Conc. *trpṇutarbh*°; ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *trpṇutarbh*°) RV. TB. ApŚ. *trpṇu*° probably misprint.]

§412. When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute. Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: *sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣāṇ* (SV. °*ṣād*) *na yajñah* RV. SV.

anuṣṭum (MS. °*ṭub*) *mitrasya* (GB. Vait. add *patnī*) MS. KS. GB. Vait. It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

§413. In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra. This may be merely a matter of writing:

devya (ApŚ. *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ. *namnam*°) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

vājasya hi prasave (TS. °*vo*) *nannamīti* (TS. *namna*°) TS. MS. KS. *ā yaṃ* (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāśuṣe* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. Lect. fac. in MS. MŚ. (verb form, 'they have come').

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc. and neuter (adverbial) forms *taṃ* and *tad* (*tan*); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc. as a mere corruption:

taṃ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA.

tan (JB. *tañ*) *mā puñsi kartary erayadhvam* JB. KBU.

trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje TB.: *tr̥ta enañ manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* AV.

Cone. and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended.

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt; in it a following nasal (!) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

śiṣum nadīnām harim adribudhnam (TS. °*buddham*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

SB. Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation.

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually; there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80. We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4.

3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ñ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231; Waekernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr. 2. 20. The VPr. 6. 30 requires it before a voiced mute; the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prātiśākhya's ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the

TS. mss. in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss.

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

brhaspate †yāmyām (KS. ms. °yā emend. °yām) *yuṅdhi* (AŚ. *yuṅdhi*)
vācam TS. MS. KS. AŚ. But practically all mss. of TS. *yuṅdhi*.
parivṛṇdhi (TS. MS. ŚB. °vṛṇdhi) *harasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But here too all mss. of TS. *vṛṇdhi*; and so p.p. of MS.

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅdhi (VS. *aṅdhi*, TS. KS. *aṅjan*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB.

athāmṛtena jaritāram aṅdhi (ApŚ. *aṅdhi*) TB. ApŚ. But TB. Poona
 ed. *aṅdhi*, text and comm.

śucir aṅkte (SV. *aṅte*) *śucibhir gobhir agniḥ* RV. SV.

yaḥ pauruṣeṇa kraviṣā samaṅkte (AV. *samaṅte*) RV. AV. Kauś.

udno (VS. MS. *apo*) *dattodadhim bhintta* (VS. MS. *bhintta*) VS. TS. MS.:
udno dehy udadhim †bhindhi KS.

śunddhi (PG. MG. and v. l. of ApMB. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣṭiḥ*
 AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

ayaṁ sa śiṅkte (AV. *śiṅte*) *yena gaur abhivṛtā* RV. AV. JB. N.

sam̐paśyan paṅktir (AV. *paṅtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV. AV.

achā vīram naryam paṅktirūdhasam (SV. *paṅti*°) RV. SV. VS. MS.
 ŚB. TA.

[*pāṅktraḥ* (KSA. em. *†pāṅktaḥ*) *kaśo mānthilavas* (KSA. *†man*°) *te*
pitr̥ṇām (KSA. *†pitṛṇām*) TS. KSA. The mss. of both texts all
 read *pāṁtra*, intending *pāṅtra*; TS. comm. *pāṁtra-kaśān*, as a
 dvandva.]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX. (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*; see §§314–5, 321–2, 332–7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well:

giraḥ somah (SV. *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāḥ* RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax; but cf. the next, where there is none.

ghṛtāhutaḥ somapṛṣṭhaḥ (MŚ. *stoma*^o) *suṁvīraḥ* AV. MŚ.: *stomapṛṣṭho ghṛtavān supratīkaḥ* KS. TB.† 3. 7. 2. 7b, AŚ. ApŚ. The originality of AV. is supported by the RV. epithet *somapṛṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghṛtapṛṣṭha*).

apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhiḥ (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS. *stu*^o, MS. *ṣṭu*^o) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB.: *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te mativido nṛbhi ṣṭutastotrasya* (AS. *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) . . . AŚ. ŚŚ.

nārāśanśena stomena (RV. *somena*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. SB. LŚ. Kauś. See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54. 54 and 56; Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV.* 124. Grassmann would emend RV. to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio faciliior.

[*ṣutā* (mss. *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss. *vedamātā*) AV.: *stuto mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA. Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV. edition. Weber, *ISt.* 2. 144, discusses the TAA. passage; he would understand *stuto* as *stutā-u*.]

§420. The rest need no subdivision:

parijmā cit kramate (AŚ. ŚŚ. *cid ramate*) *asya dharmaṇi* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance.' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading; to us it seems merely a lect. fac.

taṁ tvam viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS. *°bhya rtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ. Apparently KS. has the true reading, cf. Caland on ApŚ. 10. 25. 1; *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣiṇāḥ kalpaya*.

ahorātrābhyāṁ puruṣaḥ samena (GB.* *kṣaṇena*) GB. (both) ŚB.

yena śriyam akr̥ṇutām PG.: *yena striyam akr̥ṇutam* (ŚŚ. *striyāv akuru-tam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG. *śriyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects.

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS. KS. *bṛhadgrāvā*, MS. *bṛhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ. *bṛhad-rāyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The form containing *g* seems to be the older.

śumbhānas (KS. *stam*^o) *tanvaṁ* (TB. *tanuvaṁ*, SV. *†tanvām*) *svām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. 'Adorning (establishing) his own person.'

anyavratasya (TA. *anyādvra*^o) *saścima* (TA. *°maḥ*, Poona ed. *°ma*; RV. *saścire*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Tho the comm. on TA. takes *anyādvratasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one; *anyad* is the 'stem' form.

mūteva putraṁ bibhṛtā sv (VS. ŚB. *bibhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS. ŚB.

namaḥ śuṣkyāya (MS. *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS. is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*; but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification).

bhayan̄ śītimabhyām (KSA.° *madbhyām*) TS. KSA. Stems in *-man*: *-mant*; obscure names for some part of the horse's body.

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added):

kṛtān naḥ pāhy aṇhasaḥ (TA. *enasah*) MS. TA.: *ṛtān mā muñcatān̄hasaḥ*

TB. The latter is poor; comm. *ṛtāl prāptāt tasmād aṇhasaḥ*.

ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ TS.: *ṛtasya yonīm mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS.: cf. *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS.KS.ApŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole. The MS. pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS.

śravo (RV. VS. *avo*) *devasya sānasi* (TS. TA.° *sim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA.

stavāno (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution.

āyobhavyāya (AG. *māyo*°) *catuṣpadī* AG. ŚG.: *catvāri māyobharāya* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. The ŚG. is obviously secondary and poor; it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*. *yāsām agnir iṣṭyā* (KSA. *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV. TS. KSA. The KSA. reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage. 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice': 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'.

eruṁ tundānā patyeva jāyā AV.: *peruṁ tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS. The original form of *eru*: *peru* is unknown; it probably means the male organ.

purudasmō viṣurūpa (KS. *purudasmavad viṣvarūpaṁ*) *induḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *urudrapso viṣvarūpa induḥ* TS. ApŚ. Synonyms.

madhvā (VS. *adhvā*) *rajāṅsīndriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB. Comm. on VS. *madhvā*, the only possible reading. Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśīmahī tvā* ŚG.: *tvayāvasena* etc. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. PG. *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected *SBE* 29. 98, note.]

CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter.—In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between \bar{a} and short *a* plus nasal; they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and \bar{a} .

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which \bar{a} , not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of \bar{a} before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

1. Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases.

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p. 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 *infra*; rather different is the implication of III p. 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

- (a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*.

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm; at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264–6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence; nor, in TS., at the end of a

kaṇḍikā (Wackernagel I §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a*: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. *-a*, eight of 2d plur. *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing. middle *-sua*, four of 1st plur. *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing. perfect *-a*, 2d sing. perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur. perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases: two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE **prō*, see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19. 39. 10d *suvā* is a misprint for *suva*, see Whitney's note; the pāda is repeated without variant from AV. 5. 22. 3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: *vanaspate 'va srjā* (KS. *srja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus:

indra somam pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚŚ. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form; but p.p. of RV. MS. both *piba*. Cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8. 17. 1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the *a:ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV.; short *a* RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

juhota (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA. This pāda of AV. (18. 2. 2b) is RV. 10. 14. 14b; the preceding one is RV. 10. 14. 15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman),

yamāya madhumattamam. But further, RV. 7. 102. 3b has *juhotā madhumattamam*; the first word is the first word of AV. 18. 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV. *juhotā* is a reminiscence of *juhotā* RV. 7. 102. 3b, where the *ā* is regular; in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned:

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both are regular; in AV. *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS. *bhavā*) *tvaṁ naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps *tvaṁ* is surplusage; whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvaṁ* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*; but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

hinva (Vait. *°vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait.

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. *°vā*) *rājasūtaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.

abhi vāñīr ṛṣīñām sapta (SV. °tā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

vidma (Kauś. text °mā; read °ma with AV.?) *te svapna janitram* AV.
Kauś. (pratika only).

adha sma (MS. smā) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. astu, KS. °nam astu
kṛṣṇam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.
vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

asti hi śmā (TS. MS. KS. astu sma) *te śuṣmīn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.

adyā (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. AA. TA.
MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final
in its pāda, are:

vahū (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *havīñṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.
upa (MS. *utā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °ṇā *ihāgatam*) MS. TB.
TA.

indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (AV. *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*)
RV. AV. MS. ArS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N. Note that *ā* is clearly
secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them
according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the
verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one
is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the
order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different
positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d,
and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz., six, four, and six times respectively.
It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before
the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty
times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these
sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth; one case
each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the
sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metri-
cal requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to
be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically
to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that
precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when
the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda:

pra (KS. *prā*) *ṇa āyur jīvase soma tārīḥ* RV. KS. AB. GB. Vait. MŚ.

It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS. has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō*. Cf. *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināty* (*minoty*) *ajarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

hinva (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *havīṇṣi* MS. KS. TB. N. *vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

vidma (Kauś. °*mā*) *te svapna janitram* AV. Kauś.

adyā (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. TB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

upa (MS. *utā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

§441. In the third syllable:

juhota (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA.

pretā (TS. *upa preta*) *jayatā naraḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. Read *pra-itā* in RV. etc. TS. seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse.

janiṣvā (MS. °*ṣva*, RV. KS. °*ṣta*) *hi jenyō agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

adha sma (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*ṇam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

tam ā prṇa (TB. *prṇā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. See §433.

ā juhota (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (pratika)

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinaṁ* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretaṁ vājinaṁ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. *ramayata*.

asti hi śmā (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

udīrayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

yatrā naś cakrā (Cone. *cakra* for KS. with one ms., but ed. *cakrā* with others) *jarasaṁ tanūnām* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

§444. In the sixth syllable of *anuṣṭubh*:

indra somaṁ pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚŚ. See §432.

§445. In the seventh syllable of jagatī:

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter tends to be long.

§446. In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī:

apo devīr upa srja (MS. *srjā*) *madhumatīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS. *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; see §428 and VV I p. 174.

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS. *bhavā*) *tvam naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless *tvam* be deleted; see §434.

vanaspate 'va srjā (KS. *srja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p. 174.

dyumantaṁ śuṣmam ā bharā (SV. *bhara*) *svarvidam* RV. SV.

aditsan vā (MS. *dhipsyam vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyam*) *saṁjagara* (TB. °*jagārā*, MS. °*cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS. TB. TA.

vayanḥ rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, MS. p.p. and TS. *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīr*) *ā prṇasva* (TS. KS. TB. °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

bhagemām dhiyam ud avā (TB.† ApMB.† *ava*) *dadanaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

nihāram in ni me hara (TS. †*harā*) TS. KS. The TS. form is quoted as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr. 3. 12; the actual quotation there includes the following word *nihāram*, which is the initial of the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of *a* final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nihāram*); or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the saṁhitā-pātha is not *hara* but *harās*, subj. and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as *hara*, and hence arose the TPr. rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.

§447. In the ninth syllable of jagatī:

abhi vāñīr ṛṣīṇām sapta (SV. °tā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh:

vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS. °va) *naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; cf. §428 and VV I p. 174.

gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °tā, MS. °trā) *vāt* (MS. *vet*, TA. *vat*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA. Note that TA. is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable.

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

idaṁ me prāvata vacaḥ RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācam me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś. Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam (AV. *nu pra vocam vīr°*, but most mss., SPP., and Whitney Transl. *prā* for *pra*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.—Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 48. 47f.) like RV. On *prā* cf. §439 and 437.

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds.

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor. We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*; adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*; gerunds in *ya* or *yā*; instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*; and neuter nom.-accs. in *ma* or *mā*; also one variant of *acha*:*achā*. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf. §438). Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant. Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda.

§451. Adverbs in *tra*:*trā*; viz. *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra*. There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a); the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem. So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem. Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations. While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected.

§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*:

yatrā (MS. **yatra*, AV. **yenā*) *naḥ* (AV. **te*) *pūrve pīlaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS. **pareyuh*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. (tris).

yatrā sapta ṛṣīn (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

yatrā (TS. *yatra*) *suhārdaḥ sukr̥to madanti* (TS. °*te*) AV. TS.

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV.† TA.

tatrā sadah (SV. *tatra yoninī*) *kṛṇavase* RV. SV. KS.

tatrā (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatīḥ* RV. SV.: *tatra indro bṛhaspatīḥ* VS.

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

atrā (VS. *atra*) *jahīmo* (RV. TA. *jahāma*, AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan dūrevāḥ*; VS. ŚB. 'śivā *ye asan*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

§453. Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā*. Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *ittha*, *itthā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is this time no difference in accent. The *itthā:ittha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454. In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one; but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

atha (AV. *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no grhān* AV. HG.

adha (TB. *adhā*) *vāyuniḥ niyutaḥ saścata svāḥ* RV. VS. MS. TB.

atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ TS.: *adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate grhe* VS.

atha jivir (read *jivir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV.: *athā jivirī* . . . ApMB.: *adhā jivirī vidatham ā vadāthah* RV.

adha syāma (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

athā (AV. *atha*) *devānām vaśanūr bhavāti* RV. AV. TA.

athā (TS.* *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya śam yoḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. No true variant; the short *a* once in TS. (3. 2. 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to *sandhi*.

§455. For completeness we add here the single case of *ithā* varying with *ittha*. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *ithā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477: *ihettha* (AV. °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.

§456. *Gerunds in ya:yā*. According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV. forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr. sing. forms of *i* or *ti* stems. This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a *pāda*, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: *hiranyayāt pari yoner niṣadyā* (MS. °*ya*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

vanaspate raśanayā niyūyā (MS. °*ya*, KS. TB. *raśanayābhidhāya*) RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. N.

viśvā agne abhiyujō vihatyā (AV. TB. °*ya*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.

rudrāḥ saṁsrjya (MS. °*yā*, TS. ApŚ. *saṁbhṛtya*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mitraḥ saṁsrjya (MS. °*yā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

§458. *Instrumentals of a-stems in na:nā*. In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a*. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*; these three forms are initial in their *pādas*. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh *pāda*, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short *a* against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short:

kavīr gīrbhiḥ kāvyenā (SV. °*na*) *kavīḥ san* RV. SV.

tenā (AV. TB. Poona ed. and MŚ. ed. *tena*, but all mss. of MŚ. *tenā*) *sahasrakāṇḍena* AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tena vayanṁ sahasravalsēna* TB. ApŚ.

tena (AV. *tenā*) *vayanṁ bhagavantah syāma* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

yena vahasi sahasram VS. MS. ŚB.: *yenā* (KS. *yena*) *sahasram vahasi* AV. TS. KS. Vait.

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom. masc.) in ma:mā* (once, *a:ā*). Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc. *ā*: neut. *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number: altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the p.p. regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible; and cf. Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut. sing., so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf. Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once; thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr*-(cf. §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long; the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvr̥ṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathaḥ* (read °*thāḥ* with all mss., cf. Lanman, *NInfl.* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS. has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

vyomā (TS. °*ma*) *saptadaśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.—BR. assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

ayan̐ sahasram ānavo . . . vidharma (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula; rather change of gender, neut. to masc., in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

brahma (ApŚ. °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā rtasya* PB. ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ. masc., 'priest of the gods'). *rtasya brāhma* (AV. *bhūtānām brahmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh. in AV. to *prathamoha*) *jajñe* AV. TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note.

tan no brahmā (TA. °ma) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS. *brahmā'*).

triṅśad dhāma (MS. MŚ. *triṅśāddhāmā* as one word) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. understands its compound as of masc. gender.

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB. Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB.

varma (AV. °mā) *sīvyadhvaṁ bahulā pṛthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV. Cf. prec.; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

tava śravāṅsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. °ya) RV. SV. The only case of a n. pl. in *a:ā* not from an *n*-stem.

§461. One case of the preposition *acha:achā*. The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that *achā* is original.

acha yāhy ā ivaḥ daivyaṁ janam RV.: *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV.SV.

We consider that *vahā:vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a:ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*. The p.p., of course, always reads short *a*.

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened.

§462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

§463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final. So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of *a:ā* before the suffix *vant*; in every one the variant syllable is second in the *pāda*.

§464. Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II. 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence; cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants.—For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465. *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

apamityam apratītāṁ yad asmi AV. (pratikas in GB. Vait. Kauś):
yāny apāmityāny apratītāny (TB. Poona ed. °tītāny) *asmi* TB.
 ApŚ. (Metrical in AV., but prose in TB. ApŚ.)

upāvīr (TS. ApŚ. *upa*°) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See
 pw. VII p. 325.

prayāsāya (VS. *prā*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. TB. TA. On *prā*, not to be
 identified with IE **prō*, cf. §§429, 439.

[*prāvaṇebhiḥ* (MS. KS. *pravaṇena*) *saḥśasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*.
 See §491.]

§466. Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476.

āvīte dyāvāprthivī rtāvṛdhau MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāprthivī dhṛtavrate*
 TS. TB. And (in same passage): *āvittau* (TS. *āvinna*) *mitrā-*
varuṇau dhṛtavratau (TS. °ṇāv *rtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
 Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being
 long already). Cf. §665.

sahasrapoṣaṇi subhage (TS.* °gā) *rarāṇā* RV. TS. MS. KS. SMB.
 ApMB.: *sahasrāpoṣaṇi subhage rarāṇā* AV. Kauś.

īḍe agniṁ svavasam (AV. *svāvasuṁ*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ.
 Only the AV. truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*.
 The others have a compound of *su* with *aras*.

deva saṁsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeśiṣe (AV. *sahasrā*°) AV. TS.: *sahasra-*
poṣasyeśiṣe SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV. TS.;
 but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase.)

dvārapāya svāhā; dvārapyai svāhā; dvārapopa sprṣa; dvārapy upa sprṣa,
 all HG.: *dvārā*° etc., ApMB.

[*brhaspatinā rāyā svagākṛtaḥ* TS.: †*svagākārakṛto mahyam* MŚ. Conc. *svagak°* for MŚ.]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin.* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait. texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr. texts short *a*; but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed; we have seen (§§238 ff.) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical.

aśvat (RV. *aśvā°*) *soma vīravat* RV. SV. VS.

indravanto (TS. *indrā°*) *maruto viṣṇur agniḥ* RV. AV. TS. KS. †40. 10b.

puṣpavatīḥ (TS. *puṣpā°*) *supippalāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

puṣpavatīḥ (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā°*) *prasūvarīḥ* (TS. *°vatīḥ*, AV. KS. *°matīḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

śrkāhastā (TS. KS. *śrkāvanto*, MS. *srgavanto*) *niṣaṅgiṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

indravān brhad bhās svāhā KS.: *indrāvān svāhā* TS. TB.: *indravān svavān brhad bhāḥ* MS.

dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. *°triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

vātavān varṣan bhīma rāvaḥ svāhā MS.: *vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvrt svāhā* TS.: *vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā* KS.

agnīndrayor ahaṁ devayaḥyayā vīryavān indriyavān bhūyāsam MŚ.: *indrāgniḥ* (MŚ. *°nyor*) *ahaṁ devayaḥyayendriyāvy annādo* (MŚ. *°driyavān vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. MŚ.: *indrasyāhaṁ devayaḥyayendriyāvī* (KS. *°yāvān*, MŚ. *°yavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. KS. MŚ.

juṣṭam devebhyo havyam ghṛtāvat (TS. *ghṛtavat svāhā*) TS. MS.

dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavātī*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasṭhe* . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *aditiḥ tvā* (*°tis tvā*) *devī* . . ; *devānām tvā patnīr devīr* . . ; *janayas tvāchinnapatrā devīr* . . ; *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc.) . . ; *gnās tvā devīr* . . All in same texts, Maitr. always reading *viśvadevyā°*, the others *°vyā°*.

[*somaṁ te krīṇāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvāntam* . . TS. KS. Conc. *vīryavāntam* for TS.]

§468. *The reduplicating syllable.* Two cases; in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

trita etan (AV. *trta enam*, comm. *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* (AV. *mamṛje*) AV. TB. The AV. form is more usual but bad metrically; TB. (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmṛj-* (found RV.).

śucanto agnīm varṛdhanta (AV. *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS. The regular form is *vā°*, but forms with *vā°* are found in RV.

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a*; and other *a:ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds.

§469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a:ā*. Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically. We begin with an interesting group concerning *a* privative and the preposition *ā*. Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*.

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV. form *ā'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ādeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV. itself. A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 6. 49. 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131.

viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma RV.: *viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīḥ* RV. AV. AB. *bhuvad* (SV. *bhuvo*) *viśvam abhy ādevam* (SV. *ad°*) *ojasā* RV. SV. Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura; with short *a* we have a tribrach.

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are:

adayo (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīraḥ* (AV. *adaya ugraḥ*) *śatamanyur indraḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In pw. I p. 297 it is said that *ādāya* is an error for *adaya*. But the p.p. repeats the form; it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*.

yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (KS. *yavā āyavā ūmā řevā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ śagaraḥ sumekaḥ* TS. ApŚ. The forms *yava(n)*, *yā°*, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā°*, are used with great confusion, but the *a*- seems to be felt as privative; the *y*-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay°* forms the latter half. The form with *āy°* is not noted except here and in the next; it seems to be equivalent to *ay°*.

sajūr abdo (MS.* *abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*, KS. *āyavobhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. preceding.

§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative:

yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ AV.: *yām apitū upatiřhanta āpaḥ* LŚ.

‘Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon’: ‘whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon’.

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants; cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.). The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them *a* privative may be involved; so in the first:

svastidā aghrṇiḥ (TB. TA. *agh*°) *sarvavīrah* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA. This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā*. The form *aghṇi* is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB. desperately takes the *a* as privative: *asodhavyadīptiḥ* (!). The comm. on TA. varies in different mss.; one reading is *āgatadīptiḥ* (taking *a* as = *ā*). The reading adopted in Poona ed. is *adīptiḥ*, *asmāsv anugrāhī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical *aghṇin* (pw. II p. 286, ‘nichts verachtend’). But cf. also *pūṣṇe* ‘*ṇghṇaye svāhā*, §300, where the yet different form *aṇghṇi* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṇi*.

aśleṣā (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*; both these forms are otherwise unknown. BR. derive *aśleṣa* from *a* privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr*°) from the preposition *ā*; this is hardly credible. The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other. The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a*- is a case of shortening before two consonants.

ā no viśva (MS. °*vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. °*ta*) *devāḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The word is obscure; *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown. Comm. on TB. *ābhimukhyena kartārah santaḥ*, which implies *ā* and supports BR’s derivation from *ā* plus root (*s*)*kṛ* (Sāyaṇa derives from *kram*). This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of *a* privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders. The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., and each time the Poona ed. reads short *a* in text and comm. without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts: *arādhyā edidhiṣūḥpatim* VS.: *ārādhyai †didhiṣūpatim* TB. Conc.

‘For misfortune.’

aṣādham (TB. Conc. *aṣ*° or *āṣ*°) *yulsu pṛtanāsu paprim* RV. VS. VSK. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ‘Unconquerable.’

aṣādham (TB. *āṣ*°, Conc.) *ugraṁ sahamānam ābhiḥ* RV. AB. TB.

§475. Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II. 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

nāsikārate (TS. °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

amāyān māyavattarah ŚB.: *māyām māyāvattarah* AB.

idaprajaso (KS. *idā*°) *mānavīḥ* TS. MS. KS.

śirahpāṇīpādapārśvapṛṣṭhorūdarajañghaśiśnopasthapāyavo (MahānU. °*pṛṣṭhodarajañghā*°) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

ūrṇamradasaṁ (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ūrṇā*°) *tvā strṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*; Kauś. *ūrṇamradaṁ prathasva*) *svāsasthaṁ* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.: *uru prathasvorṇamradaṁ svāsasthaṁ devebhyaḥ* MS.

§476. The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition:

mitrāvaruṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyaḥ (VSK. *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

ye devā mitrāvaruṇanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK. *vottara*°) *tebhyaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

§477. The rest are sporadic. The stem *aṣṭa:aṣṭā* belongs with noun formation rather than here; *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā:ittha* see §455; on *achā:acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *viśvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants:

śivā viśvāha (VS. and p.p. of MS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*; TS. *viśvāha-bheṣajī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. *vratam rakṣanti viśvahā* etc., §511).

The reading of MS. p.p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *viśva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut. plur. in *a:ā*, cf. §§459 f.).

atī vā (AV. *atīva*) *yo maruṭo manyate naḥ* RV. AV. *vā:īva*.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

athem ava sya (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth': 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth . . .'.

2. Non-final *a:ā* in verb inflexion

§478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p. 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift:

devān devayate (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā*°) *yaḥ* (MŚ. *yajamānāya svāhā*)
RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne prehi prathamō devayatām (AV. *devatānām*, MS. KS. *devāyatām*)
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV.; meter favors *devā*°.

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā*°) RV. AV. TS. KS.

devayuvam (TS. TB. *devā*°) *viśvarārām* (AŚ. °*re*) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
devīr āpo agreḥ . . . *devayuvam* (VSK. *devā*°) VS. VSK. ŚB.

§479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p. 155):

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N. *rām*°, so v. l. of AV.) AV. N.: *vasupate vi ramaya*
MS.

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS.: *yāvayāsmad dveṣaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. Kauś.: *yāvaya*
(v. l. *yā*°) *dveṣo asmat* MS.: *yāvayāsmad aghā dveṣāṇsi* TA.

yāvayārātīm KS.: *yāvayārātīḥ* (MS. Kauś. °*tim*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Kauś.
The p.p. of MS. has *yāvaya*.

tatra havyāni gāmaya (KS. *ga*°) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. But von
Sehroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS. with one of his three mss.

§480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added:

adītsan vā (MS. *dhīpsyam vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyam*) *saṁjagara* (TB. °*jagārā*,
MS. °*cakara*) *jānebhyah* MS. TB. TA. These are first person forms,
so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar.

yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS. †*sāsāhat*) *sadane kaṁ cid atriṇam* RV. SV.
KS.

bibheda valam (AV. AŚ. *balam*) *bhrgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV.
AŚ. ŚŚ. The *ā* is probably due to the meter here; in the middle it
is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h).
But the AV. form is itself not regular; it should be *sehe*.

svām cāgne tanvam (TA. *tanuvam*) *pīprayasva* (AV. *pīprā*°) RV. AV. TA.
MahānU. See VV I p. 187. The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but
is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp. 128 f., 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following:

ānyāvākṣīd (VS. *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāṇi* VS. TB. Cf. also:
grāvīvādīd (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*; so KS. ed., with v. l. as Conc.) *abhi somasyāñśum* (ApŚ. °*śunā*) KS. ApŚ.

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f.). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193); or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā:a*, VV I pp. 180f., and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples:

ayann (TB. ApŚ. *āyann*) *arthāni kṛṇavann apāñsi* RV. KS. TB. ApŚ.
ahū yad dyāvo (AV. *devā*) *asunītīm ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive.

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337:

ā mā gantām (VSK. † °*tan*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK. † *yuvam*) VS. VSK.
 10.3.12c, TS. KS. ŚB. Subject voc. in VSK., nom. elsewhere.
 Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

3. Non-final *a:ā* in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear; the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484. Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the vriddhi of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this vriddhi. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite

§485. Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

sajūr abdo (MS. **abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (KS. *āy°*, TS. ApŚ. 'yāvabhiḥ, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS. *āyavā ūmā řevā abdas*; TS. ApŚ. *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdah*) *sagaraḥ sumekah* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

yavānān (TS. *yāv°*) *bhāgo* 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ayavānām (TS. *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yāvānān cāyāvānān cādhipatyam āsīt* TS.

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable; type *bhaga:bhāga*. They call for no comment: *subhagamkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhāgamkaraṇam mama* SMB. Most *samhitā* mss. of AV. *subhag°*.

mām agne bhāginam kuru ApMB.: *mām indra bhaginam kṛṇu* AV.

saṁsrāvabhāgā (°*gāh*, °*gās*, VS. ŚB. KŚ. *saṁsrava°*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

namaḥ parṇāya (TS. KS.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇasādāya* (TS. °*sadyāya*, VS. °*sadāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

prātaḥ prātaḥsavasya (ApŚ. MŚ. °*sāvasya*) *śukravato* . . . ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *prātaḥsāva* is the only form known to RV., but the other is commoner later.

prātaḥ prātaḥsavasyendrāya (ApŚ. MŚ. °*sāvasyen°*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *śrāvaś* (VS. *śravaś*) *ca me śrutiś ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. *śravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvaś*.

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS. *bhrjvāñ*, MS. *bhrjaś*, VS. *bhrājaś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *bhrajaś* (KS. ed. †*bhrā°*, v. l. *bhra°*) *chandaḥ* VS. (in next verse) TS. KS. (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS. *bhrajaś* for *bhrā°*.

vahnih samtaraṇo (TA. *saṁpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Different but synonymous roots.

§487. Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning:

yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam (AV. *ArS. VS. *bhā°*, AV.* *yad vā bhāvyam*) RV. AV. (bis) ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *bhav°*. Metrical lengthening, possibly.

uttarasyaṁ devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ (TB. also °*tā*) TS. ŚB. TB.: *upahūto 'yam yajamāna* (MS. °*nā*) *uttarasyaṁ devayajyāyām* (MS. °*yājyāyām*) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§488. Forms in other suffixes:

havanaśrun (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*.

dūṣikābhīr hrādunim (KSA.† *hra*°) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīh* VS. MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*; if KSA. is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*.

divācarebhyo (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyaḥ* MG. ViDh.: *ahaścārebhyaḥ* ŚG. (Sc. *namaḥ* in both.) Also: *naktaṃcarebhyaḥ* ŚG. ViDh.: *naktaṃcāribhyo bhūtebhyaḥ* MG. Stems *cara* and *cārīn*.

tataṃ me apas (TB. ApŚ. *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punaḥ* RV. KB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic.

vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. *adābhyaḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. Here the gerundive varies with a participle.

§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations; occasionally they may be lexically different in origin:

adāyo (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīraḥ* (AV. ed. with p.p. *adaya ugraḥ*, but mss. *adā*°, and so comm.) *śatamanyur indraḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On the initial *ā* of MS. see §471. The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV. comm.). Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well. For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS. and note.

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Cf. §219. The word is obscure; is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ.?

vāṣaṭ ApŚ.: *vaṣaṭkāraḥ* AG. ŚG. If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss. of ApŚ. *vaṣaṭ*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaṣaṭ*.

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pitṛṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktraḥ* (KSA.† *pāṅktah*, but mss. of both texts *pāṅitra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA.† *man*°) *te pitṛṇām* (KSA.† *pitṛ*°) TS. KSA. See §77.

hemantāya kakarān (KSA.† *kakārān*) VS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Name of an unknown animal or bird.

[*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KSA.† *vikarān*, Conc. *vikārān*; ApŚ. *vikirān*) VS. KSA. ApŚ.]

āstām jālma (KS. *jālma*) *udaram śraṇṣayitrā* (KS. *sraṇs*°) AV. KS.

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS. *kuḷikayas*, MS. *puḷikayas*, KSA. *puḷī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Read *kūvārasya* in KSA.; see §198.

śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ ApMB.: *śāṇḍikera* (PG. *śauṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG. PG. Fanciful names of demons.

ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayaṇḍakas te maitrāḥ (KSA. *śayāṇḍakās te maitryāḥ*, em. in ed. to *°kas te maitrāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārgaḥ sṛjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. The word *śay°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound.

vāśā stha VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *vaśāḥ stha* MS. KS. MŚ. Addressed to waters. *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR. and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyaṇa's guesses); *vaśāḥ* 'cows'. It is held by some that *vaśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'.

§490. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having *vṛiddhi* in the first syllable and the other lacking it:

tisraś ca rājabandhavīḥ (HG. *°vaiḥ*) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. *°vyah*) PG. MG.: *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavīḥ* (ŚG.† *°bāndhavaiḥ*) AG. ŚG. (Oldenberg suggests reading *°vīḥ* in ŚG.) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*.

mītrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt (KŚ. *prā°*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The office of the *praśāstr* is *praśāstra* or *prā°*.

divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS VS. ŚB. TS.* *vayasā*, MS. TS.* *vayasaṁ*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. *Suparṇ. vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird'; *vayasā* is instr. of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'.

dhiṣaṇūsi parvatī (TS. TB. ApŚ. *°tyā*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*, but KS. mss. *par°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the Tait. texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr. school an equivalent *pārvaṭa*; the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next.

prati tvā parvatī (TS. TB. *°tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See prec. Twice in KS.; once the sole ms. has *parv°*; the other time *pārv°*, but KapS. *parv°*.

gārgī (AG. *gargī*) *vācaknavī* (sc. *trpyatu*) AG. ŚG. Patronymies; *gārgī* is to be expected. See next.

śakalyam ŚG.: *śākaḥ* AG. (with both sc. *tarpayāmi*). Read no doubt *śākalyam* in ŚG. (misprint; Oldenberg's translation has *Śākalya*). Cf. prec.

ya āntarikṣāḥ (sc. *sarpās tebhya imam baliṁ harāmi*) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* . . . AG.

vāyur na ṛḍita ṛḍitavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) pātu KS. ApŚ.

āṅgūṣāṇām (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *avāśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. The SV. form in this and the next is dubious.

āṅgūṣyaṁ (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *pavamānaṁ sakhāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec. *śvetāya vaidarvāya* (°*vyāya*, °*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315.

suvarṇastainyam avratyam (BDh. *avratyam*) ViDh. BDh. Perfect equivalents.

narāśaṁse (VS. *nār°*) *somapūtham ya āśuḥ* (KS. *ānaśuḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

It is at least conceivable that *narāśaṁsa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vridhhi.

[*narāśaṁsa stavīṣyate* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. In the Berlin ed. of AV. is printed the false emendation *nārā°*.]

sūyavasiniṁ manave (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*syē*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *mānuṣa* of KS. = *manuṣa* of TA. (*manuṣe* in RV. is dative of *manus*, a more primitive form; all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*.)

agnīd rajanarauhiṇau (so ed., v. l. *rāja°*; p.p. *rājan*, *rau°*) *puroḍāśāv adhiśraya* MS. A name of a *sāman*; see note in MS., and BR. s. v. *rājana*, which seems to be the true form; *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable.

yakṣmaṁ śronibhyām (ApMB. *śronī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV.

araṇyāya (MS. *āraṇyāya*) *srmaraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Both mean 'of distance'.

kalpayataṁ mānuṣīḥ TB. ApŚ.: *dr̥ṇhantām daiṛīr viśaḥ kalpantām †manuṣyāḥ* KS.

achinno divyas (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāham manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§491. In other cases a secondary formation with vridhhi of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word:

śunaṁ vāhāḥ śunaṁ naraḥ (TA. *nārāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. *naraḥ*, plur. of *nṛ*; *nārāḥ*, plur. of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*.

namas te rathamitarāya (AA. *rāth°*) . . . AA. LŚ. ŚŚ. Both words refer to

the Ratham̐tara sām̐n; AA. forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sām̐ne* understood.

bhuvanam asi sāhasram (MS. **sah°*, ŚG. *sahasrapoṣam*, MS. **sahasrapoṣapuṣi*, ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣaṇ puṣa*) MS. SMB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Probably read *sāhasram* in MS.*; note that MŚ. has this.

vāyosāvitra (TS. p.p. °*trah*; MS. *vāyusavitrbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA. Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmās (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA.

nāsām āmitro (TB. *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB. *āmītra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'.

agnes tvā (MS. *agneṣ tvā*) *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS. °*tyā*, MS. *jāgatyā*) *vartanyā* . . . TS. MS. KS. 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path'. KS. v. l. *jāgatyā*.

jagad asi MS. MŚ.: *jāgatam asi* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgatāsi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. All 'composed in jagatī meter'.

prabhāyā agnyedham (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. The TB. form is problematic; comm. *agneḥ prajvalanakartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham*. Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?

sadyaḥkrīś (ApMB. *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasā saha* ŚG. ApMB. *sadyaskrī* (masc.!), name of an ekāha. The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem. noun with which it could agree.

prāvaṇebhiḥ sajoṣasaḥ RV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *pravaṇena sajoṣasaḥ* MS. KS. The ἀπ. λεγ. *prāv°* is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj., '(fires) of the abyss'. But RV. p.p. *prav°*; possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*; in that case it would belong to §465.

śāśvatībhyah (AV. ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *śaś°*) *samābhyah* AV. VS. TB.

IśāU. ApŚ. The adjective *śāśvata* = *śaśvat*; fem. forms of both. *yadi varuṇasyāsi* . . . Kauś.: *yadi vāruṇy asi* . . . Rvidh. ApG.: *yady asi vāruṇī* . . . GG.

yathā yamāya harmyam (TA. *hā°*) AV. TA.; and

evā (TA. *evam*) *vapāmi harmyam* (TA. *hā°*) AV. TA. *hārmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that; but TA. takes it as a secondary adj., 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun; and this is also possible.

sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ* TS. ApŚ.

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathaḥ RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

adhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram TB.: *†ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somo vaiṣṇavas*) . . . *aṅgirasō* (AŚ. *†āṅg°*, ŚŚ. *āṅgirasō vedo*) *vedaḥ* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'The Aṅgirasas (i.e., the AV.) are the Veda'; so ŚB. The others mean the same thing: 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas'.

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense. First a group of variants between *āgrayaṇa* and *āgrā°*, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from *agra*; the *ā* may be rhythmic in character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in MS. MŚ. and KS., with short *a* elsewhere:

nīdhanavata āgrayaṇaḥ (MS. KS. *āgrā°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āgrayaṇaś (MS. KS. *āgrā°*) *ca me* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

āgrayaṇāt (KS. MS. *āgrā°*) *trīṇavatrāyastriṇśau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

āgrayaṇo (MS. MŚ. *āgrā°*) 'si *svāgrayaṇaḥ* (MS. MŚ. *svāgrā°*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ.

āgrayaṇas te dakṣakratū pātva asau AŚ.: *ātmānam ta āgrayaṇaḥ* (ApŚ. *†āgrā°*) *pātu* MS. ApŚ.

§493. When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds, the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a* declension:

ūrṇamradasaṁ (etc., see §475) . . . *svāsasthaṁ* (VS.† ŚB.† *°sthām*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.: *uru prathasvornamradan svāsasthaṁ devebhyaḥ* MS.

kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhaḥ (MS. KS. and most mss. of MŚ. *°ṣṭhāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

yuvā kaviḥ puruniṣṭha (KS. *°ṣṭhā*) *rtāvā* RV. TS. MS. KS.

mitro na (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ehi sumitradhaḥ* (TS. KS. *°dhāḥ*, MS.* *°dhaḥ*) *saha rāyas poṣeṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yo devānām nāmadhā (AV. *°dha*) *eka eva* (KS. *eko asti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

adabdhō gopāḥ (KS. *†gopaḥ*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS. *pari pātu viśvataḥ*) RV. TS. KS.

pravāyāhne 'har jīva MS.: *pravayāhnāhar jīva* VS. The MS. form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form. If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*; VS. has instr. of *pra-vā*. The root is *vā*, 'blow'.

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems:

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyaṇi pautramartyam* SMB.: *aprajāstvam mārtaṭatsam* AV. On stems *prajas* and *prajāś* (: *prajā*) see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 95 f.

sa tvā manmanasāṇi karotu (ApMB. °*saṇi kṛṇotu*) PG. ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem.) me-minded.' Stems *man-manas* and *man-manasa*.

agnir adhyakṣaḥ (TA. °*ṣāḥ*) MS. TA. 'Agni is overlord.' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA., as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss *svāmī*.

satvanām (MS. *satvānām*, KS. †*sattvānām*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems *satvan* and *sattva*; MS. has a bad writing for *sattv*°, cf. §392.

imām narāḥ (*naraḥ*) . . ., see §328. Nom. pl. of stems *nara* and *nṛ*. *tisraḥ kṣapas* (TA. °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajabhiḥ* RV. TA. Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*.

tābhīr (TB. *yābhīr*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS. °*yaṇi*) *sūryasya* RV. MS. TB. Stems *dūtyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 22; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 58. 3).

agne pṛthivīpate . . . varuṇa dharmāṇām pate . . . TB.: *agne pṛthivīyā . . . varuṇa dharmāṇām . . .* ŚŚ. Stems *dharma* and °*man*. (Also listed in Conc. under *varuṇa* . . .)

§495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*; the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language; cf. Wackernagel III p 358 f.

aṣṭasthūṇo daśapakṣaḥ Kāuś.: *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV.

aṣṭābhyah (KSA. *aṣṭa*°, but ed. em. *aṣṭā*°) *śatebhyah svāhā* TS. KSA.

[*aṣṭābhyah* (Conc. wrongly KSA. *aṣṭa*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rathamtarāyāṣṭākāpālāḥ* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. All texts *aṣṭā*°; Conc. *aṣṭa*° for VS.]

§496. A couple of doubtful cases:

samudrasya tvāvakayā (TS. ApŚ. *tvāvā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *avākā*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*; *avākā* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf. similar cases before *vant* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31.118, where this should in that case be added. Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ñ)c*; Keith, 'wind'; we see little reason for either interpretation.

nīrṛtiṇ nīrjarjalpena (MS. *nīrjalpena*, TS. *nīrjālmakena*, KS. *nīrjālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; see §810. TS. comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'.

4. Non-final *a:ā* in Noun Declension

§497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax; that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498. First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p. 240):

śaṁ no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayaḥ (6. 23. 3 *apa oṣadhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV. 2. 3. 6, 6. 23. 3. But mss. at 2. 3. 6 also *apa* (comm. *āpaḥ*), which Whitney's Translation restores; and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter; it furnishes the desired anapest after the cesura.

apo (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*; AV. *divyā*) *acāriṣam* (JB. *†acārṣam*, AV. *acāyīṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499. Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387.4; Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot:

dvipac catuṣpad (SV. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.

dvipac catuṣpad (AV. VS. Kauś. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.

catuṣpadām uta yo (TS. *ca*) *dvipadām* AV. TS.: *catuṣpāda uta ye dvipādaḥ* KS. MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular; different case forms.

viśvā āśā dakṣiṇasat (AB. AŚ. °*sāt*, ŚŚ. °*taḥ*, LŚ. °*dhak*) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

§500. Twice Tait. texts present vriddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dākṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II. 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitāraḥ*:

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB. °*tārā*) RV. TB.

ye devā manoḥātā (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu°*) . . . *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS. † °*tāras*) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

§501. Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ* (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vr̥ṣāṇaḥ*: *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ* (TB. *vr̥ṣāṇaḥ*) *samidhīmahi* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB.

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr. 589 = 9. 30), is replaced in SV. by the regular form:

mīteva sadma paśumānti (SV. °*mantī*) *hotā* RV. SV.—Similarly:
ava droṇāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV. °*vanti roha*) RV. SV.

§502. As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p. 288):

śarmā (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvr̥ṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathah* AV. But all mss. of AV. °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read; comm. °*thah*.

yachā nah (AV. *yachāsmāi*) *śarma saprathah* (AV. VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. °*thāh*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.

viśām agnim atithim suprayasam (KS. °*yāsam*) RV. KS. The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading; v. Schr. emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think. Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. (But Wackernagel III p. 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uśas*.) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV., which is unquestionably conservative and wise; but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it.

ayā san (so read; MS. *ayāh san*, KS. ms. *ayāsā*, ed. emend. *ayās san*) *manasā hitah* (MS. *kṛtāh*, p.p. *kṛtah*, KS. *kṛtah*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ. ŚŚ.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. See next.

ayā san (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāh san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayasā ha° ū°* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts; a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom. form with noms. of stems in *as*. See Geldner *VSt.* 3. 122 n. 5; Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v.; Wackernagel III p. 282.

§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms:

agne yan me tanvā (TS. *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ. *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma ā pr̥ṇa* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG. Abl.-gen. sing. of *u*-stem.

anaḍvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. The passage of MŚ. is unpublished; if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems.

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*:

athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām RV.: *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām* KS. But v. l. of KS. *yuvā°*.

§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender:

svām (MS. KS. *svām*, MG. *sva-*) *yonim gacha svāhā* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. MG. *yonī* may be masc. or fem.; the Tait. school makes it fem. in all the variants.

agne svām (TS. TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tvām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See prec.

svām (TS. *svām*) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS.† MS. KS. (No *svām* in TS.) *yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām* (MŚ. *svām*) *yonim* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. [*svānkrto* (KS. *svām°*) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form.]

dhruvam (TS. °*vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā mā (KS. *mām*) *hiṁsiṣṭam svām* (KS. *yat svām*) *yonim* . . . MS. KS.: *mā mā hiṁsiṣṭ svām* (KS. *svām*) *yonim* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *mainam hiṁsiṣṭam svām yonim* . . . AB.

sa no dadātu tam (AV. *tām*) *rayim* AV. AA. ŚŚ. *rayi*, masc. or fem.

athāsmabhyam sahavīrām (AV. VSK. MS. KS. °*rām*) *rayim dāḥ* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Cf. prec.

abhīmam (TS. °*mām*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mām*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. l. °*mā*) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

yā (MS. *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. *iṣu*, m. or f.

§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yonī*, *rayi*, and *div*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am*: *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc. or neut. adjective:

indremam pratarām (VS. TS. ŚB. °*rām*) *kṛdhi* (VS. MS. ŚB. *naya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ud enam uttarām (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. °*rām*) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

jīvātare pratarām (RV. °*rām*) *sādhayā dhiyaḥ* RV. SV. SMB.

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA.† °*rām*, MG. *pratiram*) . . . RV. AV. TA. AG. MG. And others, see §575.

asmin kṣaye pratarāṁ dīdyānaḥ SV.: *adhi kṣami pratarāṁ dīdhyānaḥ* RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of *a*-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505–6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns *tvam* and *tvām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

surayā (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS. †MS. °*ta*) *retaḥ* VS. MS.

KS.† TB. 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine.'

surayā (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somaḥ suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

dikṣayedam (KS. *dikṣāy°*) *havir āgachataṁ naḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for *dikṣay°*.

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāḥ (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

pra candramās tīrate (TS.† °*ti*, AV.† °*mas tīrase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Nom. voc.

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV.† *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. *devāḥ* voc. pl.; *devaḥ* (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp. ms. *devāḥ*, wrongly emended to *devaḥ* by Barret JAOS 35. 88.

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK. °*yatāya*) . . . VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS., which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable.

tvām (TB. *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.

5. Non-final *a*: *ā* lexical and miscellaneous.

§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins; cf. the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment:

vedhām aśāsata (SV. *medhām āśā°*) *śriye* RV. SV.†

ākrān (TA. *ākṛān*) *samudraḥ prathame vidharman* RV. SV. PB. TA.

MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. *ākṛān ākrāntavān vyāptavān*.

āgann apāna ātmānam . . . ŚŚ.: *agan prāṇaḥ svargaṁ* . . . ŚŚ.

āganma (AŚ. *ag*°) *viśvavedasam* VS. ŚB. AŚ.

āganma (SV. *ag*°) *vrātrahantamam* RV. SV. AA. ŚŚ.

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. 'dhvara āsthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

agnaye samidham āhārṣam (ŚG. GG. *ahārṣam*) AG. ŚG. SMB. GG. PG. HG. ApMB.

yad gharmah paryavartayat (MŚ. *paryā*°) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām AV. SPP.; Berlin ed. *ajagan*, with slight ms. authority; some mss. *ājāgan*; see Whitney's note on AV. 19. 49. 3.

§509. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*:

agne (RV. *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān TS.: *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt* MS. KS. *patho anaktu* (AV. KS. °*ti*, TS. *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghr̥tena* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

āsmāsu (KB. *as*°) *nṛmṇam dhāt* (KB. *dhāh*) MS. KB. TA. ŚŚ.

kāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ. °*ṣa ār*°) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

tāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ. Vait. °*ṣa ār*°) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Vait.

yasmin sūryā ārpitāh (KS. †TB. TA. *ar*°) *sapta sākam* AV. KS. TB. TA.

indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (TB. Conc. *āhv*°, Poona ed. *ahv*°, comm. *ahv*° with v. l. *āhv*°) VS. TB.

agnaya upāhvayadhvam Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB.:

agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In Vait. *upa* + *ā*. [*antarikṣam* (VS. *ān*°) *prthivīm adṛñhūt* VS. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. *ān*°, which is clearly right.]

§510. The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange:

kṛtaṁ cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy (AV. TS.* *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS. *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

praty auhatām (MS. *ūh*°) *āśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. TA.

§511. The rest are miscellaneous:

vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvahā AV.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV. Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV. form for some obscure reason; cf. *śivā viśvāhā* (°*ha*) etc., §477.

ye te panthāno bahavo jānāyanāḥ AV.: *ye te 'ryaman* (KS. *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a. *jāna-ayana*: *deva-yāna*. But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here.

gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °tā, see §448; MS. °trā) *vāt* (MS. *vet*, TA. *vaṭ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. *vaṭ*, *vāt*, or *vet*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation.

āhalag (MS. *ah*°, TS. TB. *āhalam*, KSA. *ahalam*) *ili vañcali* (TS. TB. *sarpati*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. An onomatopoetic interjection. All texts may intend *āh*°, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā; comm. on VS. TS. *āh*°; p.p. of MS., to be sure, *ah*°; in default of comm. or p.p. there is no evidence as to which KS. intended.

aṭṇārasya paraḥ putrah ŚB.: *āṇṇārasya parasyādaḥ* ŚŚ. Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships.

śataḥśaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ.: *śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. The Conc. suggests *śatākṣ*° in ApŚ., but probably wrongly; Caland, 'der hundertströmige' (*sruva*).

agdhād eko . . . samasanād ekaḥ TS.: *adhvād eko . . . sanād ekaḥ sanā-sanād ekaḥ* MŚ. See §181.

agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . āyur (MS. *mayo*) *dātra edhi . . .* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

añkāñkaṁ (MS. *añkāṁ-añkaṁ*, so p.p.; KS. *añkañkaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The curious shortening in KS. seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening). Cf. §362.

āptye (AV. *apriye*) *saṁ nayāmāsi* RV. AV. See §878.

vātajavair (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ* MS. HG. See §268.

gāva upāvatāvataṁ (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. See §60.

ānṛīmukhaḥ . . . HG.: *ālikhann . . . hanṛīmukhaḥ . . .* PG. See §386.

viśvakarman bhauvana māṁ didāsiṭha (ŚB. *manda āsiṭha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

§512. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous:

pra smā mināty ajaraḥ RV. KS.: *prāsmā minoty ajaraḥ* ApŚ. We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439.

nīlagalasālā AV. 6. 16. 4c.: *nīlagalamālaḥ śīraḥ paśya* NīlarU. 22b. The true reading of NīlarU. is certainly that of AV., see Jacob's *Concordance* s. v.; two mss. and the comm. read so, and the comm. quotes AV. 6. 16. 4.

aśīrṣāṇā ahaya (SV. °ṣāṇo 'haya) *iva* RVKh. SV.: *aśīrṣāṇa ivāhayaḥ* AV. But we must read in RVKh. as in SV., with Scheftelowitz (p. 106).

agnis ca dahatam prati AV. SV. Misprinted *āgnis* in AV., see Whitney's note.

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV. TA. Conc. *sadanā* for AV.

asmān devāso 'ratā (Conc. *'rata*) *haveṣu* AV.† And others, all with *avatā*.

ā na indo śatagvinam (SV. misprinted *śāta*°) RV. SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda.

arvān (GB. *ārvān*) *ehi somakāman tvāhuḥ* GB. etc. Gaastra correctly *arvān*.

viśve devā udīcyān tu abhiñcantu (error for °*cyān tvābhi*°) *śreyase* Rvidh.: *udīcyān tvā diśi viśve devāḥ . . . abhiñcantu . . .* AB.

jāmīn (KS. *ṭcamī*) *mā hiṁsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmīn moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. The KS. (one ms. only) must certainly be emended to *jāmīn*.

pavamāna vidharmanī RV. SV. Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV.; corr. Benfey's Corrigenda.

†*vārṣāharam sāma gāya* (correct Conc.) MS. ŚB. MŚ.: *prastotar vārṣāharam sāma gāya* ApŚ.

CHAPTER XII. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the $a:\bar{a}$ variants, those between i and \bar{i} and between u and \bar{u} are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between $i:\bar{i}$ and $u:\bar{u}$ as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long i and u declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an \bar{i} or \bar{u} historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence.—See §§300-2 for variations between \bar{i} , \bar{u} , and short i , u , plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonants.

1. Final short i lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final i , originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of $a:\bar{a}$, we include not only absolutely final i , but i in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final i .

§515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a pāda. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose; of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the pāda. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasī vi [vī] ṣa āvaḥ*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for i to be lengthened before v , but also before r and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

§516. First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*); but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *ṣ*. The first five variants have *i* absolutely final, not in composition; in four of them the older form of the variant has short *i*. We add one case of the conjunction *yadi*:

vidad yadī (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā* . . . RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. See §63.

abhi (SV. PB. *abhī*) *no vājasātāmam* RV. SV. PB.

tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ RV.: *tebhiḥ somābhi* (TA. °*bhi*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *ṇaḥ*) RV. TA.

abhī na ā vartsva RV.: *agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (with variants; Kauś. *abhi na ā vartsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §648.

mā tvā sūryo 'bhi (KS. *sūryaḥ pari*; ApŚ. *sūryaḥ parī*) *tāpsīn māgnir* (ApŚ. *mo agnir*) *vaiśvānaraḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

obhe aprā rodasī vi (SV. *vī*) *ṣa āvaḥ* RV. SV. Here the meter favors *i*, which SV. introduces secondarily.

agnim atirugbhyām (MS. *atī*°) VS. MS.

adhivāsam (MS. *adhi*°) *yā hiraṇyāny asmai* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

abhīvartaḥ (TS. *abhi*°) *saviṇśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhiṣāhe (and *abhi*°) *svāhā* MS. (both)

abhīṣāt (so ed. em., Conc. with ms. °*ṣās*) *†cābhīṣāhyas ca* KS.: *abhīṣāt cābhīṣāhī cābhīmātihaś* . . . LŚ.: *abhīṣāc cābhīṣavī* ca ApŚ.

nīroho (PB. *nī*°) *'si* TS. PB.

namo nīveṣyāya (p.p. *nī*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hṛdayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS. °*ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

parītoṣāt tad arpitha ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ.

parivādam parikṣam AV.: *parivādam parikṣapam* ApMB.

ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau AV.: *bodhaś ca tvā pratibodhaś ca rakṣatām* AV.:

bodhaś ca mā pratibodhaś (KS. †*pratī*°) *ca purastād gopāyatām* KS.

MŚ.: *bodha pratibodhāscapnānavadrāṇa gopāyamāna* . . . KS.

vivadhaś (KS. *vī*°, MS. *vivadham*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vivarto (MS. KS. *vī*°) *'ṣṭācatvāriṇśaḥ* (KS. *aṣṭā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§517. To these may be added a case of *antarīkṣa* for *antari*°; the old adverb *antari* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *i* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antari*). The form *antarīkṣa* crops up again in Buddhistic Sanskrit; e.g. Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, ed. Kern and Nanjio, 149. 1.

svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarīkṣasadbhyaḥ (AV. *antari*°, GG.† *'ntarī*°) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. HG.

§518. The only other absolutely final *i:ī* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhī*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. several mss. of MS. read *śrudhi*; but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant.* II. 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg.* 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep.* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ.) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there):

imam me varuṇa śrudhī (AŚ. *śrudhi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants; the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*):

imam agne camasaṁ mā vi jihvaraḥ (TA. *jī°*) RV. AV. TA. AG.
yiyaṣyata (AŚ. *yī°*) *iva te manah* (AŚ. *mukham*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Desiderative from *yabh*; the form with *yī°* is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

udgrābheṇod ajigrabhat (KS. *ajīgrabham* and *ajīgrbham*) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*:

mādhyamdinasya savanasya niṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato (ApŚ. adds *manthivato*) *madhuścuta* (KŚ.* *manthīwata*, v. l. *manthi°*) *indrāya* (MŚ. *savanasya śukra° manthivato niṣk° bhāgasyendrāya*) . . . KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthi*) + *vant*.
parameṣṭhī tvā sādayatu . . . *raśmivatīm* (MŚ. *raśmī°*) MS. KS.

§520a. In one case *ī* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kr*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cārin*:

imā udvāsikāriṇa ime . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsicāriṇa ime* . . . MŚ.
 Cf. §59.

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member: *yā te agne hariṣayā* (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvar-eṣṭhā* VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MŚ.)

2. Final *ī* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II. 1 §56 e-g (cf. also Leumann, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 13 ff.). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening; that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *ī* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

§523. Radical *ī* is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527); the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS. alone has the shortening:

tasya rathagr̥tsaś (KS. *°kr̥tsaś*, MS. *°kr̥tsnaś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānī-grāmaṇyau* (TS. *senānī°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *tār̥kṣyaś cār̥iṣṭanemiś ca*, *senajic ca susenaś ca*, *rathaprotāś* (TS. *rathe°*) *cāsamārathāś ca*, *rathasvanaś ca rathecitraś ca*.

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*:

yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . prapharvīdāḥ (ApŚ. *°vidāḥ*) . . . KS. ApŚ. *namo 'gnaye prthivīkṣite lokaspr̥te* (ChU. *prthivīkṣite lokakṣite*, MU. *prthivīkṣite lokasm̐rte*) TS. KSA. ChU. MU.

prthivīśadam̐ (MS. *prthivī°*; VS.† *°śadam̐*) *tvāntarikṣasadam̐* (VS. †*add* *divīśadam̐ devasadam̐*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

prthivīspr̥n̐ (MS. *prthivī°*) *mā mā hīṁsīḥ* MS. TA.

ye devā divībhāgā . . . ye prthivībhāgās (TS. KS. *prthivī°*, but 2 mss. of KS. *°vī°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

svadhā pītṛbhyaḥ prthivīśadbhyaḥ (MŚ. GG. *prthivī°*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. HG.

3. Miscellaneous final *i:ī*

§525. There is very little else. On *na ced avedī* (*avedi*) etc., see §530 below; it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *ī*:

agne tvam̐ sūktavāg asy upaśrutī (MS. *°ti*, TB. *°śrito*) *divas* (TB. *divaḥ*) *prthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The form is locative of an *i*-stem:

MS. is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?).

ado (MS. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devī*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*mānā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MS. Nominative and vocative.

stomatrayastrīṇše bhuvanasya patni TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastrīṇše bhu° patnī* MS. As prec.: see §818.

saṁ devī (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* . . . TS. KS. ApŚ.

rātri (TB. *rātrī*, v. l. of KS. *rātriḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuse* (KS.† TB. °*ṣṛi*) RV. KS. TB.

satyād ā (ApŚ. *satyā tū*) *dharmaṇas patī* (Vait. MS. *parī*) AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MS.

aśvinendraṁ na jāgrvi (TB.° *vī*) VS. MS. TB. The -*vī* form is a dual adj., and so Mahīdhara takes the -*vī* form also; but possibly it may be a neut. sing. adverb.

gāyatrī (MG. °*tri*) *chandasaṁ mātā* (MG. *mātaḥ*) TA. TAA. MahānU. MG. Nom.: voc.

na sīsarīdata (HG.† *sīsaridataḥ*) ApMB. HG. See §384.

4. Noun stems in *i:ī*

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax; many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

namaḥ senābhyah senānībhyas (VS. TS. °*nībhyas*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS TS. MS. KS.

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant. Boehtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs'; this seems improbable in the light of the variants; both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith):

namaḥ śvanībhyo (MS. *śvanī°*) *mṛgayubhyas ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanībhyas ca vo namaḥ* TS.

Other cases of probably original *ī* are:

sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām (MG. *akṣi*^o) *bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG. N. The

ī-form is regular in the older language: Wackernagel III p. 303.

varūtrīm (KS.† *varu*^o, TS. *varūtrīm*) *tvaṣtur varuṇasya nābhim* VS. TS.

KS. ŚB.: *tvaṣtur varutrīm va*^o *nā*^o MS. MŚ.

rātrīm-rātrīm (AV. TS. *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvaṃ bharantaḥ* AV. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB.

rātrīm (KS. *rātrīm*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

rātrīm (TS. *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS. KSA.

śam rātrī (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātrīḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK.

MS. TA.

rātrīm (SMB. PG. MG. *°rīm*) *dhenum ivāyatīm* (AV. *upāyatīm*) AV.

HG. ApMB. SMB. PG. MG.

ye rātrīm (KS. *°rīm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† *°ṣṭhatha*) AV. KS.

prati tvā parvatī (TS. TB. *°tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See §490.

veṣaśrīr (TS. *°śrīr*) *asi* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. LŚ.

mahīnām (VSK. *mahinām*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ. ŚG. Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK. form would be anomalous.

hrādunibhyaḥ (KSA. *°nibhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. This is uncertain; both short and long *i* are otherwise known. RV. has *hrādunim*, but *hrādunī-vrt*. See also *dūṣikābhir hrādunim* etc., §543.

śimībhīḥ (KSA.† *śimī*^o, VS. *śamī*^o) *śimyantū* (VS. *śam*^o) *tvā* VS. TS. KSA.

§529. But in the rest stems in short *i* seem to be primary:

svāhākṛtibhyaḥ (TS. ApŚ. and most mss. of MŚ. *°kṛtī*^o) *preṣya* TS. ŚB.

KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'To hail-makings'; suffix *ti*.

ayās cāgne 'sy anabhiśastiś (AŚ. ApMB. HG. *°tīś*) *ca* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. Suffix *ti*, as in the last.

ākūtim (SMB. *°tīm*) *devīm manasaḥ* (SMB. *°sā*, AV. *subhagām*) *puro*

dadhe (SMB. *prapadye*) AV. TB. SMB. As prec.

ātīr (TS. KSA. *āti*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS.

TS. MS. KSA. *āti* is Rigvedic.

abhiṣṭīr (HG. *°ṭīr*, ApMB. *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*)

RVKh. ApMB. HG.

diva (*divas*, *divaḥ*) *skambhanir* (VS. ŚB. *°nīr*, VSK.† *skambhany*) *asi*

VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Here fem. gender is responsible for the long *ī*.

śiraḥ-śiraḥ prati sūrī vi caṣṭe TS. ApŚ.: *śiro devī prati sūrīr vi caṣṭe* KS.

Here too *sūrī* is made fem., agreeing with a fem. entity.

śronibhyāṁ (TS. *śronī°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

yakṣmaṁ śronibhyāṁ (ApMB. *°ṇī°*, v. 1. *°ṇī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV. ApMB.:
yakṣmaṁ bhasadyaṁ śronibhyāṁ bhāsadam AV.

mitrāvaruṇau śronibhyāṁ (TS. *śronī°*) TS. KSA.

śaṁ methir (ApMB. *śaṁ te methī*) *bhavatu śaṁ yugasya tardma* (ApMB.
trdma) AV. ApMB.

ṛtūn prṣṭibhiḥ (KSA. em. *prṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *bhr°*) TS. KSA. Cf. Macdonell
and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 358 f.

prṣṭibhyaḥ (KSA.† *prṣṭī°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

imāṁ khanāmy oṣadhīm (ApMB. *°dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.

oṣadhībhyāḥ MG.: *oṣadhībhyāḥ* ŚG.

kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta RV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*
uta SV.

sam arir (VS. ŚB. *arīr*) *vidām* (KS. *vidaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nom.
sing. of stem *ari*; the anomalous VS. ŚB. form is noted in BR.,
s. v. 2 *arī*.

adhā jivri (AV. *atha jivir*, ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV.
vadāthaḥ) RV. AV. ApMB. Stem *jivri* (or, with most mss. of AV.,
jirvi). RV. has a dual form; ApMB. an isolated sing. from a stem
in *ī*, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms.
On the *ī* of the initial syllable see §544.

plāśir (TB. *°śir*) *vyaktaḥ śatadhāra utsaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī . . . MS.: *ambā dulā nitatnir* . . . TS.

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.: *apo mahī vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ*
SV. TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in
addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form.

vi te bhīnadmi takarīm (KS.° *rim*, AVPPP. [Roth] *tagarīm*, AV. *mehanam*)
AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. See §49. There is no way to determine the
original quantity of the *i* here.

§529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing. in *ī*, apparently
from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *iḥ* from a stem in *i*:

vyānaśiḥ (SV. *°śī*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmāṇā*) RV. SV.
tan no dantī (TA. *°tiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Comm. on TA.
mahādantaḥ.

dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. *°triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG.
ApMB.: *dūr° patatrī vājīnīvān* MŚ. MG.

suparṇo avyathir (SV. *°thī*) *bharat* RV. SV.

§530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also
verb forms:

na ced avedī (BṛhU. *avedi*) *mahatī vinaṣṭiḥ* ŚB. BṛhU. So Conc., with

the printed texts. But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation; mss. *avedī*. The Kāṇva recension, however, has *avedir*; and Kena Up. (not in Conc.) *avedīn*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster'). *avedir* would be nom. sing. of a noun stem *avedi*: 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster.' *avedī* is taken by comm. as nom. sing. of *avedin*: 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc. These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5. Verb forms containing *i:ī* and *i:ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character. We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

suśamī śamīṣva (TS. TB. *śamīṣva*, KS. *†śamnīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. *avanty asya pavītāram* (SV. *pavī*°) *āśavaḥ* RV. SV. The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura).

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure:

antarikṣam purītātā (TS. *puri*°, MS. *pulī*°, KSA. *pulī*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

ulo halikṣṇo (TS. *ūlo halī*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Name of some animal. A theory as to the origin of this *ī* in Wackernagel, I §39 note.

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *iṣ* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion. When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf. VV I p 189:

tena (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. *°ṇā*) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avī*°) RV. MS. TB. The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin. The *ī* of TB. is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avīt*. So in the next.

amīmadanta pīlaro (Kauś. also *patnyo*) *yathābhāgam* (. . .) *āvṛṣāyīṣata* (Aś. *°yīṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Aś. Lś. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. Cf. prec.

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. °yīd, KSA. °yed, MS. *ghanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding; TS. shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms.

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. On the anomalous TS. form see VV I p. 27.

ā gharṃ agnīm ṛṭayann asādi (TA. °dīt) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. See VV I §84.

§534. Probably rhythmic in character is the *ī* which varies with *i* in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign; cf. VV I p. 155, and above §478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*:

putrīyantaḥ (AV. *putriyanti*) *sudānavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

janīyanto nv (AV. *janiyanti nāv*) *agravaḥ* RV. SV. AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of *i* in stem syllables; at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long:

prati śma (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *riṣ*°, and so p.p. of RV. and MS.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. The p.p. readings confirm our opinion that the *ī* is metri gratia.

avāmba (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adimahi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *adi*°, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., and p.p. of MS.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§536. But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic; the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure:

sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣi*°) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The root *kṣi* 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *ī*, perhaps under the influence of the other root *kṣi* 'perish', from which *ī* forms are familiar.

yūpāyocchrīyamāñyāñubrūhi (MŚ. °chriya°) ApŚ. MŚ. Here the *ī*, in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in MŚ. with most mss.

samīṅgayati (ŚB. *samī*°) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BṛhU. The root *iṅg* appears sporadically as *īṅg* in the Brāhmaṇas; the true reading of BṛhU. is *samīṅg*° in this passage (text emended).

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ji* and *jyā*, *jī*: *ajitāḥ* (TA. *ajitāḥ*, ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *ajitā*) *syāma śaradaḥ śatam* TA. ApMB. HG.

vājino vājajito vājani sasṛvāṅso (KS. *jigīvāṅso*, TS. *sasṛvāṅso vājam jigīvāṅso*) . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

§538. We have classified the form *īyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *i*; see VV I p. 126:

īyānaḥ (SV. *īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ* RV. SV. AV. KS. TA.

stotr̥bhyo dhṛṣṇav īyānaḥ (SV. *īy°*) RV. AV. SV.

§539. The participle *īḍita* appears as *īḍ°*, probably under the influence of the nouns *īḍ*, *īḍā*:

īḍito (MS. KS. *īḍ°*, VSK. *īl°*) *devair harivān abhiṣṭiḥ* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§540. The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣiṇat* and *kṣiṇa*, are concerned in the following:

namo vikṣiṇatkebhyaḥ (TS. KS. *vikṣiṇak°*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *nama ākṣiṇakebhyaḥ* MS. If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings; but the mss. vary, and it is likely that *ākṣiṇak°* was intended.

The 3 plur. perfect ending *īre* appears once as *īre*:

tāḥ prācya (Vait. *°yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† *°īre*, Vait. *saṃjigāire*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.

6. Noun suffixes containing *i:ī*

§541. Twice in MS. the suffix *iya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*; but both times the p.p. of MS. has *iya*:

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. *'gryāya*, MS. *'grīyāya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*; MS. *sahasrīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q. v.) three variants in which AV. reads *varīyaḥ* for older *varivaḥ*:

asmabhyam indra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahi varivaḥ sugam kaḥ* RV.

sakhā sakhībhyo varivaḥ (AV. **varīyaḥ*; so one ms. of GB.; Ppp. *varivaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* RV. AV. *TS. KS. GB.

tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* AV. TS.

§542. Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *i*:

yā sarasvatī veśabhagīnā (ApŚ.* *viśobh°*, KS. *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. *-bhagīna*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here; KS.

substitutes a more regular form (fem. of *bhagin*).

tiraścīrājī (MS. *tiraścīnarājī*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. Again *īna* varies with *in* (weak stem *i*).

namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyaḥ RV. ApŚ.: *namo yuvabhya āśinebhyaś*

(MS. *āśī*^o, p.p. *āsi*^o) *ca vo namaḥ* (MS. *namo-namaḥ*) MS. KS. *āśina* is *ἄπ.* λεγ. in RV.; in MS. it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *ina*.

§543. The shortening of *ī* to *i* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings. Cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 95 f., 111. *dūṣikābhir hrādunim* (KSA. †*hra*^o) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhiḥ* VS. MS.

7. Miscellaneous *i* and *ī*

§544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: *īmkārāya*, and *°krtāya* (KSA. *im*^o, VS. MS. ŚB. *him*^o) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

īryatāyā (TB. *ir*^o) *akītavam* VS. TB. From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV.) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. *īrya*).

uṣṭārayoḥ pīlvayoh (ApŚ. *pīlvayoh*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree. Obscure.

vīḍvīr yāmann avardhayan VS.: *vīḍvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB. Comm. on TB. *dr̥ḡhaśaktayaḥ*, that is equivalent to *vīḍu*, for which *vīḍu* is not recorded.

adhā jivīrī (AV. *atha jivīrī*, most mss. *jivīrī*, which Whitney would restore; ApMB. *athā jivīrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(jī)* or *jīr*. The *ī* in the first syllable in ApMB. is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jīv* or of the *ī* forms of *jyā* or *jīr* (*jīrṇa* etc.). See §529.

anamīvāsa iḍayā (MS. *anamīmāsā iḍayā*, p.p. *iḍayā*) *madantaḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The MS. form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *īḍ*? cf. the lexically quoted *īḍā*), corrected in p.p. *dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS. *°tīr*, MS. *°tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *°tīr*) *vāvr̥dhānā* (AV. *° nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iḡyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different case forms of an *i*-stem. See §236.

śaṇḍerathaś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalah ApMB.: *śāṇḍikera* (PG. *śaunḍikeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG. PG. See §489.

§545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations; thus in the first:

subhūtāya pīpihi (MS. *pipīhi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. And others, with *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarcasāya*, etc. In MS. always *pipīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpihi* is from *pyā(pī)* 'swell'. The result, how-

- ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf. VV I p. 182.
- sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB. ApŚ. *abhīṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. See §142.
- sudītir asi* TS. PB.: *sudītir asi* KS. GB. Vait.: *suditinādityebhya ādityān jinra* MS. Boehtlingk: *suditi* Anklang an Aditi; *sudītī* glanzvoll (*dī*). *Sudīti* is Rigvedic.
- viśvam id dhītam* (MS. *dhītam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. Roots *dhī* and *dhā*.
- tigmam āyudhaṁ* (AV. *anīkam*) *vīditam* (AV. *viditam*; KS. *°dham īḍitam*) *sahasvat* AV. TS. MS. KS. See §169.
- kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa īm ā* (TA. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N.
- ati vā* (AV. Kauś. *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. Kauś. Metathesis of quantity.
- śaṁ padaṁ maghaṁ ṛayīṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. *rayi-iṣin*: *rayi-san* (so Keith; or, *-sanī*).
- ghasīnā* (ApŚ. *ghasīnā*) *me mā saṁprkthāḥ* VSK. ApŚ. Corruption in ApŚ.; perhaps for *ghāsinā* (RV. *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf. Caland's note.
- ā yāhi śūra haribhyām* (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless read, in all except AV., *harīha* (= *harī iha*), with Whitney on AV. and Keith on KB.
- gaurīr* (TB. TA. *°rī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.
- indrāpāsya phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephām alīkam* . . . HG. See §46.
- samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇārātir* (AV. *°ṇā rathī*, ŚŚ. *°ṇā rayir*) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- rādhāṁsīt* (MS. MŚ. *°si*) *saṁprcānāv* (MS. MŚ. *°nā*) *asam°* MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. And others; see §180.
- [*atikirītam* (eomm. *°rīṭam*) *atidanturam* TB. So Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed.; probably misprint; Poona ed. eomm. with text *atikirīṭam*.]
- [*†raṇkrīr* (so all!) *āśvasya sradhitiḥ sam eti* RV. VS. TS. KSA.]

8. Final *u* lengthened

§546. As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here eases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i*: *ī*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS.):

o ṣu (MS. *ṣū*) *varṭta* (MS. KS. *varṭa*) *maruto vipram aḥa* RV. MS. KS. *taṃ ū* (MS. *u*) *śuciṃ śucayo dīdivāṃsam* RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.

imam ū (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū[ṇ]*, and MŚ. *ū*) *ṣu tvaṃ asmākaṃ* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

idaṃ ta ekaṃ para ū (TB.† ApŚ.† *u*) *ta ekaṃ* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (*u-ta* = *uta*.) On *puru*: *purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555.

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*; the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV I p. 182:

grhān ajūgupataṃ yuvam AŚ.: *grhān* (MŚ. *grhāñ*) *jugupataṃ yuvam* MS. MŚ.

prajāñ me (ApŚ. **no*) *naryājjugupaḥ* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. l. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

paśūn me (ApŚ. **naḥ*) *śaṅsyājjugupaḥ* (ApŚ. and MŚ. v. l. °*jūgupaḥ*) MS. MŚ. ApŚ.: *dhanam me śaṅsyājjugupaḥ* KS.: *śaṅsya paśūn me 'jugupas tān me pāhy eva* ŚŚ. And others in the same passages.

ahirbudhnya mantraṃ me 'jugupaḥ (v. l. °*jū*) . . . MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*:

savitre tvārbhumate (VS. ŚB. *tvā rbhu*°, MS. *tvārbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA. If MS. understands a form of *rbhu*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS. (see §916); and two mss. read *svārbhūmate*.

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516).

anurohaṃ jinva Vait.: *anuroho* (KS. *anū*°) 'si TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anurohāya tvā* PB. Vait.: *anūroheṇānūrohāyānūrohaṃ jinva* MS. (with p.p. and v. l. each time *anu*°).

anurṣṭ (KS. *anū*°) *asi* KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anurṣṭe* (KS. *anū*°) *tvā* KS. PB. Vait.: *anurṣṭaṃ jinva* Vait.: *ṭanūrṣṭānūrṣṭe 'nūrṣṭ jinva* MS. *panthām anūrṣṭbhyām* (KSA. *anu*°) TS. KSA.

anukāśena bāhyam MS.: *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS.: *antareṇānūkāśam* TS. KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*; in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts:

saṁdhātā saṁdhīm (MS. °*dhīr*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. and p.p. of MS. *puro*°; MS. *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

urūṇasāv (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

mīthucarantam (TS. *mīthuś ca*°, KS. *mīthū*°, AV. *mīthuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS.

sindhoh śiṁsumāraḥ (KSA.† *śiṁū*°) TS. KSA.: *samudrāya śiṁsumāraḥ* VS. MS. See §305. Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain.

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū*:*u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff.), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf. also §563):

brahmaṇas pate suyamasya (MS. *sū*°, p.p. *su*°) *viśvahā* RV. MS. TB.

The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura).

suyame me adya ghr̥tācī bhūyāstaṁ svāṛtau sūpāṛtau ApŚ.: *suyame me bhūyāstaṁ* VS. ŚB: *sūyame me 'dya staṁ svāṛtau sūpāṛtau* MS. MŚ.

kuyavaṁ ca me 'kṣitiś (VS. °*taṁ*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. (v. l. *kū*° in MS.): *akṣitiś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

9. Final *ū* shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV. as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening:

kūṣṭho (read *kū ṣṭho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV.: *ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā* SV.

See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5. 74. 1.

10. Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of *-bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition:

hanūbhyaṁ (KSA. *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

hanubhyaṁ (TS. *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this and the prec. Tait. texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.

śūrāso ye tanūtyajāḥ (TA. *tanu°*) RV. AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening.

iyaṁ te yajñīyā tanūḥ (VSK. *tanuḥ*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.

avasyur (VS. ŚB. °syūr) *asi duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ.

śundhyur (VS. TS. °yūr) *asi mārjālīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

Only -*yu* in RV.

ārādhyai (see §474) †*didhiṣūpatim* TB : *arāddhyā edidhiṣūpatim* VS (on the latter see §381).

vareṇyakraṭūr (AV. °tur, ApŚ. īdenyakraṭūr) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.

Whitney calls °*tūr* 'an improvement'. See also §383.

vibhūr (PB. *vibhur*) *asi pravāhaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ.

vibhūr (KSA. *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūḥ* (KSA. *prabhuḥ*) *pitṛā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śambhūr (KS. °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS.

ābhūr (VS. TS. ābhur) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °dhiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS.

savitre tvarbhumate (etc., §549) *vibhumate* (MS. *vibhū°*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

phalgūr (KSA. °gur) *lohitornī* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.

havanaśrun (TB. *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. Comm. on TB. *āhvānasya śrotā san*. Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition.

§555. Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom.-acc. forms, both sing. and plur., in either *u* or *ū*:

sa hi purū (SV. *puru*) *cid ojasā virukmatā* RV. SV. Adverbial.

[*saṁ grbhāya purū* (TB. *puru*, Poona ed. *purū-*) *śatā* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*:

dadhad ratnaṁ . . . *āyuni* (AV. *āyūñṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §819.

vṛṣā punāna āyuṣu (SV. *āyūñṣi*) RV. SV.

§556. In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel: *kratūdakṣābhyāṁ me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dakṣakratubhyāṁ* (sc. *me* etc.) TS. ApŚ.: *dakṣakratubhyāṁ me varcodūḥ pavasva* MŚ.

§557. The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApŚ. form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhiḥ*; and conversely in the KS. form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound; note that in the 'correct' MŚ. form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc., stigmatizes KS. *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for °*raṁ*) as corrupt; and Knauer proposes to emend KS. on the basis of MŚ. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants:

yathādhuraṁ (KS. ms. °*dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS. *dhūro*) *dhūrbhiḥ kalpantām*
KS. MŚ.: *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhiḥ kalpantām* ApŚ.

11. Other *u*: *ū*

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing. Once TB. presents an anomalous *ūḥ* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uḥ*; it occurs at the end of a pāda, and remains unexplained:

upo ha yad vidathanṁ vājino guḥ (TB. *gūḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

§559. The various forms of the root *su*, *sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus: *praśāstaḥ pra suhi* (KŚ. *sūhi*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ. *suva pra suhi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ. MŚ. Both *sūhi* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p. 189 it is suggested that *suhi* is a blend of the two. Cf. next.

ardhamāsyam prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ JB.: *pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ* KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise. JB. 1. 18 has v. l. *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115; delete in Conc. *tam ardhamāsam* . . .).

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*:

abhyaṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. °*bhūvam*) MŚ.

§560. Quite similarly *rah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūḥ* are 'in some forms and meanings . . . hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*); indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other:

mā hinsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB.† *ūhyamānām*) AV. ApMB.

Here *ūḥ* does not fit very well; AV. means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds'. (In ApMB. the pple. is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off'.)

samūhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ ŚŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvabharāḥ* ApŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvavedā* . . . VSK. KŚ. Here, contrary to the prec., it is *sam-ūḥ* that is meant, even in ŚŚ.

phalgunībhyāṁ vy ūhyate ApG.: *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV. Kauś.

§561. The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*:

tūrvan (KS. *turo*) *na yāmann etaśasya nū raṇe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§562. Several times the word *varutrī*: *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vr* 'cover', varies in its two forms:

varūtrīṣ {*vā* (KS. *varutrīs tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.:
varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr . . . TS.: *varūtrī* (once, 2. 7. 6, †*varu*°,
and so v. l. in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva*° . . . MS. (bis)

tvaṣṭur varutrīm varuṇasya nābhīm MS. MŚ.: *varūtriṁ* (VS. ŚB. °*trīm*,
KS. † *varutrīm*) *tvaṣṭur var*° *nā*° VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

varutrīr avayan KS.: *varūtrayas* †*tvāvayan* ApŚ.

§563. The word *sumna* or *sū*° has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf. §547) also appear with *sū*:

sumnāya (VS. *sū*°) *nūnam īmahe sakhībhyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. Kauś.

dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (AV. °*yau*; VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB.

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread:

viṣṇo (°*ṇoh*, °*ṇos*) *stupo* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stūpo*) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *viṣṇoh stupah* MS. MŚ.

reṣmāṇaṁ stupena (MS. *stū*°, but p.p. *stu*°!) VS. MS.

§564. The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v., may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

urvīm gavyām pariśadaṁ no akran AV.: *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto*
agman RV. KS. See §46.

urv (AŚ. once *urvy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ.
(bis) ApŚ. MŚ. We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf. Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint.

ūrva (TB. *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmo asme* RV. †3. 90. 19c, TB. N. Comm.
on TB. *urva iva, vādavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*.

rudrāyām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
See §228.

§565. The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank':

kulyābhyah (TS. *kū°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Here the TS. comm. takes *kūl°* as a secondary adjective from *kūla*; but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

medasaḥ (HG.* *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG. *kū°*) *upa tān* (AG. *upainān*, SMB. *abhi tān*) *sravantu* (HG. ApMB. *kṣarantu*) VS. AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhiniḥsravantu* MG. Cf. also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* . . . in Conc., and prec. Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *ku°*.

§566. The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA. Poona ed. reads *pū°* with v. l. *pu°*:

ato (AV. ArS. ChU. *tato*) *jyāyānś ca pūruṣaḥ* (TA. *pu°*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. ChU.

§567. Twice the RV. writes *ūgra* for *ugra*. According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on I. 165. 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable; cf. Wackernagel I p. 293 f.). One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p.p. *hi*, *ugraḥ*. Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn:

aḥaṁ hy ugras (RV. *ū°*) *taviṣas taviṣmān* RV. MS. KS. TB.

aḥaṁ hy ugro (RV. *ū°*) *maruto vidānaḥ* RV. MS. KS.

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words:

ūlena parimīdho 'si HG.: *ulena pariṣīto 'si* ApMB. Followed by: *parimīdho 'sy ūlena* HG.: *pariṣīto 'sy ulena* ApMB.: *utūla parimīdho 'si* PG. The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown. Cf. next.

ulo halikṣṇo (TS. *ūlo halī°*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. prec. Here apparently some animal is meant.

godhūmās ca me masūrās (TS. and KapS. *masu°*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Both forms are otherwise known; *masūra* seems to be commoner. *hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇasat* (VS. *dū°*, but comm. *du°*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NṛpU. VaradapU. The word *dūroṇa*, for the usual *duroṇa* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

kurkuro nīlabandhanaḥ HG.: *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (ApMB. *vāla°*) PG. ApMB. The usual form is *kurkura*; perhaps cf. Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant). Cf. next.

kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ HG.: *kūrkurah* (ApMB. °*ras*) *sukūrkurah* PG. ApMB. Cf. prec.

kuṣmāṇḍāḥ, °*ḍāni*, °*ḍyaḥ*, and *kuś°*, *kūṣ°*, *kūś°*. See §290.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ (AV. *bhuvane°*, ŚŚ. *bhūma ne°*) AV. AŚ.

ŚŚ. Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS.: *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV.

āpura stā ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TS. AŚ.

atikulvaṁ (VSK. °*kūlvaṁ*) *cātīlomaśaṁ ca* VS. VSK. *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*.

agnaye dhūñkṣṇā (KSA. °*kṣā*) TS. KSA.: *dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK. °*kṣvā°* or °*kṣyā°*) VS. VSK. MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown.

uṣo (PB. *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB. *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB. Conc. suggests reading *uṣā* in PB.

pūlyāny (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants). Cf. §151.

§569. The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*:

ugro (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virūjann* (MG. °*jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa-*) *sedha* (AV. *vrñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

ugradhanvā (TS. MS. KS. *ūrdhvaḍha°*) *pratihitābhir astā* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ud vañśam iva yemire RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

yad annam admi (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāṇāgU. *virāddham*, vv. ll. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

brahmādhiguptaḥ (etc.) . . . : *brahmābhigūrtan* . . . , see §742.

athā jīvaḥ (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *athaitan*, AV. *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aghnyau śūnam (AV. *aghnyāv aśunam*) *āratām* RV. AV. *śūna* 'want': *aśuna* 'unprosperity'.

suhutakṛtaḥ stha AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.

utem (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. In RV. etc. *uta-īm*, in SV. acc. of *ūti*. But the Saṁhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*.

sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram AV.: *sā rāṣṭram awa dhūnute brahma-jyasya* AV. 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

trīṇi padāni rūpo anv arohat AV.: *pañca padāni rupo anv aroham* RV.

Read *rupo* in AV., with many mss., comm., and Whitney's Transl. *udno* (AV. text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV. MS. *dhātah*) AV. TS. MS.

KS. *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note. Cf. §106.

namo vaḥ pitarah śuṣmāya (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720.

CHAPTER XIII. QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1. Short *a* and *i*

§570. The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a: i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut; it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *śakya* (by which TA. comm. glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*); according to Wackernagel (l. c., p. 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ*: *satām śikyaḥ* (MahānU. *śa*°, v. I. *śi*°) *provācopaniṣat* TA. MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in:
dātuṃ cec chikṣān sa (TA. *chaknuvāṇsaḥ*, or °*vāṇ sa*) *svarga eva* (TA. *eṣām*) AV. TA. See §S26.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam*: *śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p. 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS. uses only *śam*, TS. KS. only *śim*:

śamūbhiḥ śamyantu tvā VS.: *śimūbhiḥ* (KSA. †*śimū*°) *śimyantu tvā* TS.

KSA.

kas te gātrāṇi śamyati (TS. KSA. śim°) VS. TS. KSA.

māsā āchyanu śamyantaḥ VS.: *māsāś chyanu śimyanataḥ* TS. KSA.

śimāḥ (KSA. Conc. śimāṇ, ed. with v. l. śimāḥ; VS. śimāḥ) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.* śamyantu) *śimyanataḥ* (VS. śamyantīḥ) VS. TS. KSA. Note that VS. denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *śimāḥ* with *s*, not *ś* (comm. interprets by *śimā rekhāḥ*).

sūcībhiḥ śamyantu (TS. KSA. śim°, MS. śamayantu) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf. Wackernagel I §21; but most of the cases are obscure or dubious; only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar; SV. has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hiri*:

hīrīśmaśruṇ (SV. *hari*°) *nārvāṇaṁ* (SV. *na varmaṇā*) *dhanarcam* (SV. °cim) RV. SV.

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB. °stire) AV. ApMB. Infinitive forms; Whitney emends to °stire with Ppp.

śīśirāya vikarān (KS. *ṭvikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. ll. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugaṇ traḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. With *karasyu* cf. the noun *kāras*, RV.?

rudra yat te krayī (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri*°) *paraṇ nāma* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47; all the forms are unintelligible.

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e: i*) also appears among the verbal variants (§582). Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms.

§575. First, cases in which *r* follows (cf. §578). Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tr* 'cross'. The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident.

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA. †*pratarām*, MG. *pratirām*) *dadhānāḥ* (AV. **te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. TA. AG. MG.: *dīrgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni* TB.: *āyur dadhānāḥ pratarām navīyaḥ* AV. Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣeṇa dadātu*, comm.); *pratarām* an adverb (comm. *prakarṣeṇa*); *pratirām*, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive *pratiram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss. read *pratarām* in MŚ.

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *pratarām na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

§576. Before other consonants than *r* (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *sañ-vas* and *sañviś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *kṣan* 'injure' and *kṣi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms:

indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ (AV. *akṣitaḥ*) RV. AV.

akṣatam asy (SMB. omits *asy*) *ariṣṭam* . . . SMB. ŚG.: *akṣitam* (*akṣitir*) *asi* . . . (see §586).

prṥthivī darvir akṣitāparimitānupadastā (ViDh. *akṣatā*) . . . Kauś. ViDh.: *yathāgnir akṣito* . . . ApMB. HG.

§577. Other near-synonyms:

yajñam devebhīr anvitam (TS. TB. *inv*^o) TS. MS. ApŚ. TB. †1. 4. 4. 5b. 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*): 'impelled'.

śiśūte śrṅge rakṣase (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS. *vinakṣe*, AV. mss. °*nikṣve*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. *nikṣ* 'pierce': *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable.

pavamāno daśasyati (SV. *diś*^o) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV. form from stem *diśas* = *diś* (lex., and class. in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha*: *hi*, etc.):

ato (AV. MahānU. *ito*, TB. *tato*) *dharmāṇi dhārayan* RV. AV. SV. VS. TB. MahānU.

pūrvo ha (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *jājñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. JUB.

ṛṣir ha (ŚŚ. *hi*) *dīrghaśruttamaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

eṣo (TA. MahānU. *eṣa*, ŚirasU. *eko*) *ha* (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *devaḥ pradīśo* 'nu *sarvāḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

viśvaṁ hi (KS. *ha*) *ripraṁ pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *devīḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnih̄ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtrā MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtrā* TS. KS.

śreṣṭho ha (Sāyaṇa, AV. Introd. p. 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhijātaḥ* GB. *amutrabhūyād adha* (AV. *adhi*) *yad yamasya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. *anūdhā yadi jūjanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV. Two cases in the same pāda.

vācā cit prayataṁ (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devahcḍanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

duraś ca viśvā arṇod apa svāḥ RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.

tāv ehi (AV. *iha*, AB. *eha*, MG. *tā era*) . . . AV. AB. AG. ŚG. PG. MG.

Others, §888. *ehi* contains the verb *ihī*; *eha* is probably corrupt (Weber, *ISt.* 10. 160), and *era* is certainly secondary.

anu manyasya suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ. *asūrte* (TS. MS. KS. °tā) *sūrte* (TS. °tā) *rajasī* (TS. °so) *niṣatte* (MS. °tā, KS. *na sattā*, TS. *vimāne*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

mā no agne 'va (MG. *vī*) *sṛjo aghāya* RV. AG. MG.

sūryo apo vī (MG. 'va) *gāhate* MS. ApŚ. MG.

Miscellaneous pronominal forms:

āre asman (MS. NīlarU. *asmīn*) *nī dhehi tam* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. *asmat* 'from us': *asmīn* 'in it' or 'in him'. MS. has v. l. *aśman*, and its p.p. *asmat*.

prajāyai kam (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇīta* RV. AV. Both forms are used as particles here.

yad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

yo gū udājad apa (MS. *api*) *hi valaṁ* (MS. *balam*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

ahīr jaghāna (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kiṁ*) *cana* AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here true pronoun forms; 'no one': 'nothing'.

māmīśāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ RV SV. VS.: *maiśāṁ kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiśāṁ uc cheṣi kiṁ cana* AV. As in prec.

§579. Remoter lexical variants:

mā no vidad (KS. *vadhīd*) *abhibhā mo aśastiḥ* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. These forms are still quasi-synonyms; 'find' (in a hostile sense): 'injure'. *dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV. 'Guided': 'placed'.

jāmim itvā (Poona ed. *jāmi mitvā*) *mā virītsi lokān* (Poona ed. *lokāt*) TA.: *jāmim rtrā māvā patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.

śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam RV.: *śukrā vī yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV.

vātajavair (HG. *vātājirair*) . . ., see §268.

anarśarātūṁ (SV. *alarṣirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292.

hṛtsu kratuṃ varuṇo (°ṇaṃ) *vikṣv* (*apsv*, *dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360.

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS. °nā) *cikitnū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikitvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

tisro yahvasya (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*) *samidhaḥ pariḥmanaḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.

viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB. *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

abhi dyumnam (RV. VS. *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

rāyaḥ syāma rathyo rayasvataḥ (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. See §255. *yaśo* (AŚ. *dīśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇām* (AŚ. °ṇāḥ) TB. AŚ.

agniḥ pareṣu (AŚ. *pratneṣu*, SV. VS. ŚB. *priyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV. SV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

hinvāno hetrbhir yataḥ (SV. *hitāḥ*) RV. SV.

alivardāya svāhā KSA.: *iluvardāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. Followed by *balivardāya* (KSA. °vandāya), which suggests that KSA. has an assimilated form.

śam padam magham *ṛrayiṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. See §545.

vasūni cārur (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhrjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB.

mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV. Metathesis of *a* and *i*.

§580. The following seem to be false readings:

ahim (RVKh. *aham*) *daṇḍenāgatam* RVKh. AV. Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads *ahim* for RVKh. with his ms. *tādītā* (TB. Poona ed. *ṭtādītā*) *śatruṃ* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā rivitse* (TB. *vivatse*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. *vivitse*; comm. gloss *na labhase*.

gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān (AV. *ma ichāt*; TB. with two AV. mss. *ṭachāt*) RV. AV. KS. TB. *achān* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney; see VV I p. 130.

[*añjīsakthāya* (KSA. °ṣak°, Conc. °ṣik°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*namah śaspiñjarāya* (TS. *sasp°*; Conc. wrongly *śiṣp°* for MS.) *twiṣimate* VS. TS. MS. KS.]

[*mā no vadhīḥ* (Conc. *vidhīḥ* for TS., wrongly) *pitarām* . . . RV. VS. TS. TAA. MŚ.]

§581. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*; included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

pra bhānavaḥ sisrate (SV. *sa*°) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.

On this and the two next see VV I §272.

vr̥ṣāva cakradad (and °*do*) *vane* RV.: *vr̥ṣo acikradad vane* SV. See prec. *tāḥ prācyā* (Vait. °*yaḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ. °*īre*, Vait. *saṃji-gāire*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ. See prec. two.

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 90.

hastagrābhasya didhiṣos (AV. *da*°) *tavedam* (TA. *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA.

Many mss. of AV. *di*°, which Whitney would read. Cf. however next. *vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *da*°) *havīṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

Cf. prec. The MS. reading is not certain; several mss. *di*°.

§582. In present formations of different classes:

suvrābhis †tirate (SV. TS. *tarati*) . . . RV. SV. TS. KS. Note the following *r* (§573).

anāgaso adham it saṃkṣayema TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṃkṣiyema* Vait. 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p. 125. In the latter *y* is epenthetic.

yac ca prāṇiti (AV. °*ati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB.† TB. BṛhU.† 1st and 2d class presents; VV I p. 123.

yaḥ prāṇiti (AV. *prāṇatī*) *ya īm śṛṇoty uktam* RV. AV. Cf. prec.

kati kṛtvaḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca (ŚB. *prāṇiti cāpa cāniti*) GB. ŚB. Cf. prec. two.

ni ṣṭanihi (AV. *abhi ṣṭana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. three.

§583. The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf. Whitney §1030:

na yac chūdreṣu alapsata (ŚŚ. *ali*°) AB. ŚŚ. An aorist in AB. See VV I p. 87.

sa bhikṣamāṇo (SV. *bha*°) *amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* RV. SV. Both *bhikṣ* (a sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function as quasi-independent roots.

§584. In various miscellaneous verb forms;

ajījapata (TS. TB. °*jīpata*) *vanaspatayaḥ* TS. MS. TB. MŚ. See VV I p. 192. Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists; the form with radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root.

grhā mā bibhūta mā repadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepiḍhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. See VV I p. 133.

nābhā saṃdāyi navyasī (SV. °*dāya navyase*) RV. SV. *saṃdāyi* is 3d sing. passive aor.; *saṃdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb).

yenā samatsu sāsahaḥ (SV. °*hiḥ*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ.
 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV. (perfect subj).: 'where-
 by (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ.
 the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in
 prec.

sam indra no (ṇo) manasā neṣi (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.
 KS. ŚB. TB. See VV I p. 105.

pitā no bodhi (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA. See VV I p. 123.

a: i in noun formation

§585. The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *i* may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*; the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*; or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na: ni* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra: ri*; patronymics in *ka: ki*; heteroclitic stems in *a(an): i*; stems in *ana: in(a)*; stems in *in* (in composition *i*): *a(n)*; stems in *a-ka: ikā*; and a remnant of unclassifiable *a: i* forms.

§586. We begin with the suffixes *ta: ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning; see also §599 below:
yam akṣitam (ŚŚ. N. °*tim*) *akṣitayaḥ pibanti* TS. ŚŚ. N.: *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV.: *yathākṣitim akṣitayaḥ pibanti* (KS. °*yo madanti*) MS. KS. 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV. imperishable ones) drink (or the like).'

akṣitam asi mā pitṛṇām (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* . . . ApG. ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāḥ* TS.: *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāḥ* MS.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* . . . VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. And other variations.

apā vṛdhi parivṛtaṁ (TB. Conc. °*vṛttim*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*vṛtim*) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB. 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'.

bradhnaś cid atra (SV. *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV. *jūtim*) RV. SV. *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj. with *vāto*; *jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction.

pra samrājo (SV. °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °tam) RV. SV. KB. *atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt* (MS. *ravarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS. *ravṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *tī*:

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe . . . MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °pate) *puṣṭiś* . . . AŚ. ApŚ. *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV. SV. PB.: *pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim* AV.

nyañ (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS. *ākūtim* (MS. MŚ. MG. °tam) *agnim prayujanī svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.

vāco vidhṛtim (MS. °tam) *agnim prayujanī svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

In same passage with prec.

sviṣṭam (MŚ. v. 1. °tim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.: *sviṣṭim no abhi* (KŚ. 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.

kr̥putam naḥ sviṣṭim (MS. KS. °tam) VS. TS. MS. KS.

mayi puṣṭim (AV. °tam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭa*°, KS. **puṣṭipatnī*) *dadhātu* (AG. *†dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. (four times) TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitīś (VS. 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.: *akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

[*ādityās te citim* (KS. Conc. wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS. ApŚ.]

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nītir, KS.* °dhītam, v. 1. °dhītīm; KS.* [38. 12b] *†°nītha*, KapS. °dhītam or °tim, MS. °dhīte) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. °nītha is a variant for °nīta, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between *na* and *nī*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*:

asapatnā sapatnagnhī (ApMB. °nighnī) RV. ApMB. ApG. Cf. *sapatnī*, for which *sapatnī* is recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa (BR.).

gandharrāya janarīde (ApMB. *jani*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. Cf. the stems *jani* and *jani*. Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root *jan*).

somāya janīvide (MG. *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. In same passage as prec. *teṣām yo ajyānim* (PG. 'jyānim) *ajūtim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajūjim āvahāḥ*, but Jørgensen text and comm. as others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.: *teṣām ajyānim* (MŚ. °nam) *yatamo vahāti* (KS. MŚ. *na āvahāt*) AV. KS. MŚ. *a-jyā-nī*, 'non-oppression': *a-jyā-na* id., not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears as *na* after *ā*.

hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ HG.: *hiraṇyaparna śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

pururūpaṁ suretasaṁ maghonam (TB. °nim) VS. TB. *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc. sing. of *maghavan* (cf. RV. *maghonas*, nom. plur.) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem; *maghonim* (masc.) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same. TB. comm. *annavantam*; VS. comm. *maghavantaṁ dhanavantam*.

§589. Of the suffixes *ra:ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri*: °*ra*. The usual form is °*ri*, but °*ra* occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS. p.p. reads *tittiriḥ*:

maṇḍūko mūṣikā tittiris (MS. °*ras*) *te sarpaṇām* VS. MS. Cf. §598, *varṣābhyas* . . .

§590. The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*; all occur in the same passage:

śaunakam (ŚG. °*kim*) AG. ŚG.

kaholaṁ kauṣītakam (ŚG. °*kim*) AG. ŚG.

mahākauṣītakam (ŚG. °*kim*) AG.†ŚG.

§591. Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan*: *asthi*:

asthabhyaḥ (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohitaḥ (MahānU. *puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohitaḥ*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds):

anakṣikāya (KSA. °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

anasthikāya (KSA. °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*:

dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācaliḥ (AV. MS. KS. °*calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

parvata ivāvicācaliḥ (AV. MS. KS. °*calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

dadhir (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayāṁsi* RV. SV.

enaś cakrān mahi baddha eṣām TS.: *eno mahac cakrān baddha ṛeṣa* MS.

§593. Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (*ina*):

tan nau saṁvrananaṁ kṛtam MG.: *tena saṁvranināu svake* HG. *saṁvranana* 'concord': *saṁvranin* 'concordant'.

manyoh krodhasya nāsanī PG.: *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB. *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG. Feminines of *nāšana*: *nāśin*.

mā no vidad (KS. *ṛdhad*) *ṛṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °anā) *dveṣyā* †*yā* AV.
KS. TB. ApŚ. Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown.

śunām agram *suṛiṇaḥ* (ApMB. *subīraṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Cf. next.
subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB.: *suṛiṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning.

§594. Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*):

tasya te †*vājipīṭasyopahūṭasyopahūṭo* (Vait. *vājipīṭasyopahūṭo*, LŚ. *vājapīṭasyopahūṭa* [text °hata] *upahūṭasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ. LŚ. Vait.: *tasya te vājibhir bhakṣamkṛtasya vājibhiḥ sutasya vājipīṭasya vājinasypahūṭasyopahūṭo bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ.: *vājy aham vājinasypahūṭa upahūṭasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK. KŚ.

vājan twāgne . . . Vait.: *vāji twā* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājinam tvā vājin* . . . KS.: *vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai* (*sapatnasāham*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

ava jyām (HG. *dyām*) *iva dhanvanah* (HG. *dhanvinah*) AV. ApMB. HG. See §159.

matsvā suśipra (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV. *bodhinmanā* (SV. *bodhan*°) *id astu naḥ* RV. SV. In SV. pres. pple., *bodhat*.

§595. Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, JAOS 31. 95 f.:

vidyutam kanīnikābhyām (VS. *kanīna*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS.

vrtrasyāsi (KS. *mītrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. °*akah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vrtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*akāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ. *agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam* (VSK. °*kām*, TS. MS. KS. °*ikām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

nī galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgalīti* (KSA. ms. †*jalgalūti*, em. °*līti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

avajihvaka nijihvaka ApMB.: *avajihva nijihvika* HG. Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous; it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form **jihvin*, with suffixal *in*.

§596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a*: *i* in suffixes and endings: *tasmīn ma indro rucim ā dadhātu* AV.: *tasmīn somo rucam ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Stems *ruci* and *ruc*. Cf. next.

hriśmaśruṁ nārvāṇam dhanarcam RV.: *hriśmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV. Stems *ṛc* and *ṛc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcis*?).

- kuvayaḥ* (KSA. °yih, VS. TS. *kvayih*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājīnām* (TS. KSA. *sinīvālyai*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A name of an unknown animal; p.p. of MS. also *kuvayih*.
- indrah* (ŚŚ. °as) *patīs tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Stems *tavas* and *tuviṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word).
- tilvilāstām* (ed. misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl. p. 83 n.) *irāvati* AG.: *tilvilā sthājirāvati* ŚG.: *tilvalā sthirāvati* MG.† 2. 11. 12b: *tilvilā syād irāvati* ApMB. The word is otherwise *tilvila*; probably MG. is to be emended.
- vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS. †*sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
- agne varcasvin* (VSK. °van) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ. °vī) *tvam deveṣv asi varcasvān* (ŚŚ. °vy) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.
- pradakṣiṇin* (AV. °ṇam) *marutām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS. *aśyām*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The old adverb *pradakṣiṇit*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.
- mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. *harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB. °atā) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. See §122 and VV I §86.
- kṛkalāsaḥ* (KSA. *kṛki*°) *pippakā śakunis* (TS. KSA. *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyāyai* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*.

2. Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few. The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples:

- saṁhitāsi viśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °pī, TS. ApŚ.* °pīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis)
- upasthāvarābhyo dāsam* VS.: *upasthāvarābhyo †baindam* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB.
- sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG.

śivā rutasya (TS. and v. I. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

grdhrah śitikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. *vārhi°*, ed. em. *vārdhrī°*, te °*dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with *i*) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. *vārdhra*?

uṣṭro ghrṇvān vārdhrīnasas (MS. *ghṛṇvān vārdhrā°*) te *matyai* VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. *vārdhrī°*. In *ghṛ°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here.

ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas (MS. °*thālaras*, VSK. *māndhālas*) te *pitrṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pānktrah* (KSA. †*pānktah*; mss. of both *pāntra-*) *kaśo mānthālaras* (KSA. †*man°*) te *pitrṇām* (KSA. †*pitr°*) TS. KSA. See §77.

yā te agne hariṣayā (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratikas MS. MŚ.) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*.

vidyutām kanīnikābhyām (VS. *kanīna°*) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

§598. The other variations of *ā* and *i* are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort.

agne tejasvīn tejasvī traṇ deveṣu bhūyāḥ TS.: *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns traṇ tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS. See also *agne varcasvīn* etc., §596. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāṇī* (KS. °*yāvān*, MŚ. °*yavān*) . . . TS. KS. MŚ.

śivā viśvāha (VS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (TS. °*habheṣajī*; MS. °*jā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. *viśvacarṣaṇīḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān* (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS.

śilpā vaiśradevīḥ (VS. °*vyah*) VS. MS.: *śilpās trayo vaiśradevāḥ* TS. KSA. Fem. and masc. forms, nom. plur.

samānī va ākūtīḥ RV. AV. TB. AG.: *samānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtānī* MS. KS. MG. *i* of fem. sing.; *ā* of neut. plur.

varṣābhyas tittirīn (MS. °*rān*) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc. plur. of the words which vary in §589.

dhiyā manotā prathamō manīṣī (SV. °*mā manīṣā*) RV. SV. 'The foremost intelligent one': ' . . . intelligence'.

sā śāntāti (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ. °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śāntāti* acc. neut., and *śāntātā* loc. sing., from *śāntāti*; on *śāntācī* see §156.

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS. and v. l. of MS. *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Stems *asthan*: *asthi*.

teṣāṃ saṃ hanmo akṣāṇi (AV. *saṃ dadhmo akṣīṇi*) RV. AV. (Ppp. has *akṣāṇi*.) Stems *akṣan*: *akṣi*.

bahu ha vā ayam avarṣid . . . MS.: *bahu hāyam avrṣād* (KS. *°ṣad*) . . .

TS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (JB. *īyuh*) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of *i*.

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)ā: (n)ī, which we shall not repeat here. Add the following:

śṛṇīhi viśvataḥ prati RV.: †*śṛṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV.

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī*. As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older: *avāḍ dhavyāni surabhīṇi kṛtvā* (RV. VS. *kṛtvī*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB.

kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā (RV. *°tvī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

kṛtvī (AV. *kṛtvā*) *devair nikilbiṣam* RV. AV.

kṛtvī (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarṇām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *vivasvate* RV. AV. N. *pītvī* (SV. TS. *pītvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB.

vayo ye bhūtvī (AV. *°tvā*) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV. AV.

svinnah snātī (AV. *°tvā*, VS. ŚB. *snāto*) *malād iva* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

hītvī (SV. *hītvā*) *śiro jīhvayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

apālām indra (MG. *°ras*) *triṣ (triḥ) pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

3. *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality; these will not be repeated. We begin with variants of *ā* and *i*; the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586:

prācīm jīvātum akṣitām (ŚŚ. ŚG. *°tim*) AV. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. AG.† (Stenzler's Translation, p. 36 n.) ApMB. N.

vyacasvatīṣayantī subhūtiḥ AŚ. MS.: *viśvavyacā iṣayantī subhūtiḥ* (KS. *°tā*) TS. KS. In the latter *subhūtā* is an adjective going with *aditī* in the next pāda.

tan no durgā (TA. *°gīḥ*) *pracodayāt* TA. MahānU. Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here.

śrīyo (AV. TB. *°yam*) *vasānās carati svarociḥ* (TB. *°cāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.

āṅgūṣāṇām (SV. *aṅgoṣiṇam*) *avāvaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. Different case-forms of *a* and *i* in stems.

adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ (ArS. *kṣamā viśva°*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

kara ād (SV. *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV. SV.

anādhṛṣṭā . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā* . . . TS. See §176.

§600. Between *a* and *i* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic: *sīrāḥ* (TS MS. KS. *sarāḥ*, AV. *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS. MS. KS. *°ṇīḥ*) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtva*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sirā* is also found (RV.). All are from root *sr*; cf. §§570, 573.

amṛtenāvṛtām puram (TA. *purīm*) AV. TA. Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *purī*.

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikārīm (TB. *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS. TB. Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd., show shift in gender. *nayanto garbham vanām dhiyaṁ dhuḥ* RV.: *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. Lexical.

āsminn (KS. *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Lexical.

vireṇyaḥ kratur indraḥ suśastih RV.: *vareṇyakraatūr* (AV. *°tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. See §§383, 554.

4. Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a*:*i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū*. There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV.; and the like seems to be largely true of MS.

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation. The following are those from *ū* roots:

acikradat swapā iha bhuwat (Ppp. *bhavat*, Barret, JAOS 30. 244) AV.

Ppp. Add to VV I l. c.

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS. KS. TB.† [Poona ed. text and comm.]

ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

pra bravāma (MS. *bruvāma*, v. l. *bra°*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB.

ApG. HG. MG.

saṁmiślo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvaḥ*) RV. SV.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Kauś.

nemiś cakram ivābhavat (SV. MS. °*bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

yat some-soma ābharaḥ (SV. *ābhuvah*) RV. SV.

yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV. SV. KS.

asapatnā kilābhuvam (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB.: *asapatnaḥ kilābhuvam* RV.

saṁpriyaḥ (TA. °*yaṁ prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *bhuvat*) MS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

marutvantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. †*huvemahi*) RV. †1. 101. 1-7, SV.

[*svāveśo anamīvo bhavā* (Conc. wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB.) *naḥ* RV. TS.

MS. SMB. PG. ApMB.]

§603. From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer:

abhi pra ṇonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root.) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV. *uv*.

upa śravat (MS. *śruvat*, p.p. *śra°*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS. form cf. VV I p. 106.

tad ahaṁ nihnave (ŚŚ. °*nuve*) *tubhyam* AB. ŚŚ. To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (*hnute*) is more regular.

nedīya it sr̥nyaḥ pakvam ā yavan (Ppp. *yuvan*, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 207)

AV. Ppp. (Others, see Conc.) Add to VV I l. c.

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems:

abhibhuve (MS. °*bhve*, KS. °*bhave*) *svāhā* MS. VS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And, in same passage:

vibhuve (MS. *vibhve*, KS. †*vibhave*) *svāhā*, same texts.

samudraṁ na suhavaṁ (*suhuvaṁ*, *subhuras*) . . . ; *mahiṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (*subhavas*) . . . , see §119.

indraḥ (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patis tviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tarastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Cf. §596.

śitibhravo (MS. °bhruvo) *vasūnām* VS. MS.

puṣisavanam *puṣisavanam* AG.: *puṣisuvanam asi* ApMB. The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV.).

tad viprāso vipanyarāḥ (SV. °yuvāḥ) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VasuU. SkandaU. AruṇU. MuktiU.

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyarāḥ (SV. °yuvāḥ) RV. SV.

sumnāyuvāḥ (KS. °yavas) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS. *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS. MŚ.

tasya prajāḥ apsaraso bhīruvāḥ (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.

§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff., we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo*: *kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par*:- *pur*-, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work:

sukarīrā svopaśā (v. l. *svau*°) MS.: *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

The usual form is *kurīra*; the etymology is unknown. If MS. is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*).

avabhṛtha nicumpuṇa (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuñkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. N. See §150.

Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

nicerur asi nicumpuṇaḥ (TS. TB. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Cf. prec.

saṁkasuko vikasukaḥ AV. MS.: *saṁkusuko vikusukaḥ* TA. ApŚ. The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf. next.

asmin vayam saṁkasuke (ApŚ. °*kusuke*) AV. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

nī nīvartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.

See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

etām saṁkṛṣya (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya*, v. l. °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *r*; see §631.

tuce tanōya (SV. Svidh. *tunāya*) *lat su naḥ* RV. SV. Svidh. The SV. form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*.

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable.

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a: u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal; assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karo-*, *karu-* (VV I p. 116 f., and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

karaṇam (TS. *karuṇam*) *asi* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but *karaṇam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karuṇam* in this variant. *varaṇo vārayātai* (and, *vārayiṣyati*) AV.: *varuṇo vārayāt* TA. The root *vṛ*, like *kr*, has dissyllabic forms in *u*. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuṇa* is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct; Poona ed. has *varaṇo* with v. l. *varuṇo*) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms *vanate*: *vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p. 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l. c.), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*:

agnir no vanate (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṇsate*) *rayīm* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

tad agnir devo derebhyo vanate (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

pitvo (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *nyaṅkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °*yāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. There may be assimilation in VS. or dissimilation in MS., but the forms are wholly obscure.

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf. RV. *cetū*.

somasya rājñāḥ kuluṅgaḥ TS.: *somāya kuluṅgaḥ* (MS. *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS. MS.: *somāya rājñe kuluṅgaḥ* KSA. The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS. p.p. has *kulu*°; contrariwise VS. comm. reads in both *kula*°, glossing *kuraṅga*.

sādhyebhyaḥ kuluṅgān (MS. *kulaṅgān*) VS. MS. Cf. prec.

yādase śābalyām (TB. *śābulyām*) VS. TB.: *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words; *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted'. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS. TB., whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin'; the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB. is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment'; in RV. AV. ApMB. reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf. §241.

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange. Note the misreading *cakṣaṣī sāmavedasya* in GB. Bibl. Ind. ed., which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣī* as shown by the following §; Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣī*. *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*:

namaḥ samudrasya cakṣase (PB. *cakṣuṣe*) TS. MS. KS. JB. PB. LŚ.
apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.: *apo mahi vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamaḥ* SV.
āyus ca prāyus ca cakṣas ca vicakṣas (ApŚ. *cakṣus ca vicakṣus*) *ca* . . .
 MS. ApŚ.

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation:

tarakṣuḥ (KSA.† **kṣaḥ*) *kṛṣṇaḥ* . . . TS. KSA. Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown.

sādhū (SV. *sādhah*) *kṛṇvantam avase* RV. SV. As the accent of *sā'dhū* shows (see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV. by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*.

tū mandasānā manuṣo duroṇa ā RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV. Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically; but resembles the case of *cakṣas*: *cakṣus*, §608, superficially.

daivyā minānā manasā (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.
sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*
karaḥ karasyuḥ LŚ. Cf. §573.

ārdraḥ prathasnur (MŚ. †*pṛthusnur*, v. 1. *prathasnur*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ*
 TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Knauer, note on MŚ., would understand *prathasnū*
 (TB. comm. *prathanaśīlo*) as dialectic by-form of *pṛthusnu*.

saṁsṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

Note metathesis of *a: u* in KŚ., which is poor and secondary; and cf. next.

puñjikasthalā (KS.† *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, compounded of *kṛta: kratu*; cf. prec. Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.

dhanasṛtaṁ (MS. *dhanu°*, but p.p. *dhana°*) *śūśwāṅsaṁ sudakṣam* RV. MS. *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of 'wealth-winning'; it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following.

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitar*: *ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatye* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'.

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect indicative) endings, (*n*)*tu*: (*n*)*ta*. The instances are gathered in VV I, mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics are hardly concerned. We add a few other stray cases:

adārasṛd bhavata (AV. °*tu*) *deva soma* AV. TB. ApŚ. *bhavata* seems uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see VV I p. 283.

ā pītarāṁ vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ (PB. *kuḥ!* comm. *akaḥ*, glossed *kuru*)

PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *kuḥ* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a gross corruption for *kaḥ* ('*kaḥ*'); VV I p. 283.

§612. The remaining cases of *a: u* are purely lexical. A large group concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other; also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa: su*, of various character, are included here:

ye sajātāḥ samanasāḥ (Kauś. *su°*) TB. ApŚ. Kauś.: *ye samānāḥ samanasāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ sarvavīrāḥ (TB. *savīrāḥ*, ApŚ. *suīrāḥ*) AV. TB. ApŚ.

ā tvā vahantu harayaḥ sucetasāḥ (ApMB. *sa°*) MS. ApMB. HG.

ādityāsāḥ sumahasāḥ (SV. *sa°*) *kṛṇotana* RV. SV.

agniḥ sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS. *saṁvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *svṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

sajātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam AV. TS.: *sa° madhye śraiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS.: *sujātānām śraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS.

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

marutvān astu gaṇavān sajātavān (AŚ. *sujātaiḥ*) TB. AŚ.

akāḥ su (TS. *sa*) *lokaṁ sukṛtaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*.

ayaṁ sa (ŚŚ. *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pra sumartyaṁ (*su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB.: *pra sa mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG. Here *sa* seems uninterpretable; Cone. would read *su*.

dadhad yo dhāyi sute vayāṁsi SV.: *dadhir yo dhāyi sa te vayāṁsi* RV.

Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of different character, involving false divisions of words.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsv indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

nṛcakṣāḥ (MŚ. *sucakṣāḥ*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed. *śuśrug*; MŚ. *sasrud*) *astu* TB. MŚ. If Poona ed. is right, TB. has *śu-*, the reduplicating syllable. See §145.

§613. Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or with other *a-*:

yajñāḥ pratyasṭhāt (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ.

tam ahve (SV. *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV. In VV I p. 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate.

irām u ha (AV. *aha*) *praśaṁsati* AV. ŚŚ. AG.

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other *na*, sometimes involving false division of words:

taṁ te vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. MS. KS.

ŚB.: *idam te tad vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt* TS.

yajñāyate vā paśuso na (MŚ. *nu*) *vājān* RV. MS. KB.

upānasah saparyan RV.†: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV.

avasyuvātā bṛhatī (TS. °*tīr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS. °*rīḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

mahān indrah paraś ca nu (SV. *puraś ca naḥ*) RV. AV. SV. Metathesis of *a: u*.

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange; this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q. v. Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur:

pari pūṣu parastit (AV. *pu°*) RV. AV.

yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṃ canāsa TA.: *yasmāj jātāṃ na purā kiṃ canaiva* VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmāt paraṃ nāparam asti kiṃcit* TA. MahānU. N.: *yasmād anyan na paraṃ kiṃ canāsti* Vait.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātāḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātāḥ paro anyo asti* (NrpU. 'sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NrpU.

[*ye devāḥ puraḥsado* . . . TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. BDh.: *ye devā agni-netrāḥ puraḥsadas* . . . VS. ŚB. Conc. quotes *paraḥsado* for TS.]

§616. Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words; sometimes with false division of words:

pra na (SV. *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ. °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

devāṅśo yasmai tveḍe tat satyam upariprutā (ApŚ. *apariprutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

ugro (MG. *agne*, HG. *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG. *virājam*) *apa* (MG. *upa-*) *sedha* (AV. *vṛṇkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG. *upaśṛṇvate* (ŚŚ. *apa*°; corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ. ŚŚ.

apa snehitṛ etc. RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhī* etc. TA. See §110.

tāni brahmā tu (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*, ApMB. *śaṅsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another:

mitro yatra (AV. *no atra*) *varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* (AV. *yuyja*°) RV. AV.

devebhir aktam (VS. TS. *yuktam*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

vācā cit prayataṃ (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devaheḍanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

pramade (TB. °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS. TB.

anu stomāṃ mudīmahi (PB. *mademahi*) RV. AV. PB.

asmin goṣṭhe karīṣiṇīḥ (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś.

See §152; note *p* before *u*.

sā saṃnaddhā sanuḥi vājam emam (MŚ. *sunuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV. MG.

(Others, §52.) *ā-san*: *su*, near-synonyms.

añjanti suprayasam (Ppp. *yuyñjanti suprajasaṃ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

vāyosāvītra (MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuṣṭānāḥ (AV. *āśaśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS.

aśīmahi (MS. *uś*°) *tvā* MS. TA.

ā raśmīn (RV. °*mīm*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *sraśvān* (RV. TB. °*vah*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

nī galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulīti* (KSA. ms. *ṭjalgalūti*, ed. *em. īlīti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA. Onomatopoeic forms?

ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV. *ye apa°*, some mss. *ya upa°*; comm. *u. parāsaḥ*) *īyuh* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

[*yaje saṁrāadhanīm aham* ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt, p. 250) *†samardham im aham* ŚŚ.: *agnau saṁrāadhanīm yaje* HG.]

§618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote: *pratīpaṁ prātisutvanam* (AB. *°satvanam*) AV. AB. ŚŚ. Boehtlingk regards the reading *°suto°* as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *satvan*.

svasti naḥ putrakṛteṣu (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, v. 1. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śīṅgīni kośyābhyām VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanam śīṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. *°kośā°*) TS. TA.

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. See §401.

adha syāma (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. See §840.

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *rtulam*) VS. TB. See §651.

śumbhānas (*stambh°*) . . ., see §287.

vi no rāṣṭram unattu . . . TB.: *saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV. See §139. *bhakṣīmahi* (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣ°*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

rajani . . ., *rajjuni* . . ., see §107.

īde agniṁ svavasam (AV. *svāvasam*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §466.

imau stām anupakṣitau (ApMB. *anapekṣ°*) AV. ApMB.

āśum jayantam anu (KS. *yā saṁjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

abhi sprdha usro vedim tatar da ŚŚ.: *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB.

The TB. looks generally secondary. Comm. *asro nirasana kuśalo. priyāṇy aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇṣi* (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB. Vait. [*hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram aciṣṭum* (TB. Conc. *°ṭam*, Poona ed. *°ṭum*, which certainly read) . . . MS. KS. TB.]

[*haviṣ haviṣṣu* (SV. *haviḥṣu*) *vandyah* (SV. Conc. wrongly *°yuh*) RV. SV.] [*asmākam aṁśum maghavan puruṣprham* SV. Conc. 'read *aṁśam*' for *aṁśum*; but cf. Benfey's Glossary; perhaps *aṁśum* is correct.]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ.† *oṣum*, AŚ.† *payasā goṣam*) AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both AŚ. and ŚŚ. probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV.]

5. Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619. The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*:

divyo gandharvaḥ ketapūḥ (VSK. °*pāḥ*) *ketam naḥ* (MS. KS. omit *naḥ*) *punātu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. SMB. 'Purifying (protecting) the will'; the verb *punātu* is cognate with *-pūḥ* of the original reading.

pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuḥ (ApŚ. MŚ. *vibhā*°) RV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. *drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aghadviṣṭā devajātā AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ* ApŚ.

yad annam admi (PrāpāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāpāgU. *virād-dham*, vv. II. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāpāgU.

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in:

sakhā suśevo advayāḥ (Mahānāmnyaḥ °*yuh*) RV. KS. AA. Mahānāmnyaḥ. Nom. sing. masc. of *as*: *u* stems.

yo naḥ (AV. *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druhā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV. AV. *druhā*, instr. sing. of stem *druh*; *druhuḥ*, nom. sing. of adj. *druhu*.

sā prasūr (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. Pronoun *sā*: prefix *su*.

ṛumāṁsam u (ŚG. *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG. †*darhād*) *iha* AV. ŚG. Add to VV I §§167, 193.

§621. Variants of *a* and *ū*:

yad adya hotṛvarye (ŚŚ. °*vūrye*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. °*vūrya* is Rigvedic; its long *ū* seems anomalous. For the *u*-vocalism cf. *varīta* etc. (VV I §10).

nakih (RV. *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janaḥ* RV. SV. *nū* = *nu*.

druhaḥ pāsān (TS. KS. *pāsam*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §612.

utsam juṣasva madhumantum ūrva (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK. °*sva śatadhūram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §228.

6. Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittirīya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

v for *y* (§§247–8). The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change; so in:

pareyivāṁsam (TA. ApŚ. *pareyu*^o) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV. *iti*) RV. AV. MS. TA. AŚ. N. (Pratīkas, ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. Rvidh.) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *i* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance; possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*.

hlādike hlādikāvati (TA. *hlāduke hlādu*^o) RV. AV. TA. Here, too, another motive is discernible. The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling'. This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*; cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 104 ff. But again the form appears only in a Tait. text.

goṣv aśveṣu śubhriṣu (TB. *uṣu*) RV. AV. KS. TB. The stem *śubhru* occurs only here; the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation).

made-made hi no dadīḥ (TB. *daduḥ*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. *daduḥ* can only be a noun form equal to *dadīḥ*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable). The saṁhitā mss. of MS. have a different phonetic corruption, *dadṛk*; ed. follows p.p.

§623. In other texts *i* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous: *acety agniś cikitūḥ* (SV. KS. *tiḥ*) RV. SV. KS. Perhaps assimilation in SV. KS.

daivā (AV. *daivā*) *hotāro* (TS. *ra*, AV. *rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vaniṣ*^o, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS. The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end. It is historically quite as justified as *vaniṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS., contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation.

§624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned:

ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣīlikā (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. (p.p. of MS. *suṣīliketi suṣīlikā*). See §279.

dr̥śe ca (MS. *dr̥śā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvaniḥ* (RV. *śuśu*^o; KS. *abhiḥ*; MS. *śuśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

§625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *i* and imperatives in *u*. They need not be listed here; see VV I, e.g. §116. Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt; unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *him* and (commoner) *hum*:

paśūnām tvā himkāreṇābhijighrāmy (GG. °mi; HG. hum°) *asau* . . .
SMB. GG. ApMB. HG.

§626. In several variants forms of root *śri* exchange with *śru* or *sru*:
agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. °tī; TB. *upaśrito*) *divas*
(TB. *divaḥ*) *prthivyoh* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *upaśrito divaḥ prthivyoh*
TS.

śavasā hy asi śrutah (AV. *śritah*) RV. AV. But SPP. *śrutah* for AV.,
with many mss. (other mss. *śrtah*); and so Whitney's Transl.
ā tvā parisrutah (MG. °srtah, mss. °tam; AG. °śritah) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.†
°āḥ) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. And others; see §275.

§627. The rest are sporadic:

prajāvatīḥ sūyavasaṁ (AV. °se) *ruśantīḥ* (RV. TB. comm. *riś°*) RV. AV.
TB. See Whitney's note on AV. *ruś°* 'shining', tho no doubt
secondary to *riś°* 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is
clearly the reading of AV. tradition.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) 'si (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ. This, as
between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the
mss. of MŚ.

svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. See §401.

pāti priyaṁ ripo (and, *rupo*) *agraṁ padaṁ veḥ* RV. (both): *pāty agnir*
ripo agraṁ padaṁ veḥ ApŚ. Read *rupo* in both RV. passages; cf.
Ludwig ad loc., Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 75, and RVRep. 184.

apām tvā sadhiṣi (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. See
§353. The MS. is mangled; is its ending felt as loc plur.? (*sadhiṣi*
loc. sing.)

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ. *astu no*, AV. comm. *astrta*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh.
AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

ā śuṣe (SV. *āśiṣe*) *rādhase mahe* RV. SV. The RV. has a verb form from
ā-śvas: 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty'. In SV. we have
an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form. The
ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhase*; hence
āśiṣe 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb.
Benfey supplies 'we summon'.

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* (p.p.
tú, enam, mā'ni, uttām ma!) MS. (corrupt in both forms). TA.
comm. takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*).

mandāna ud vṛṣāyate (SV. *id vṛṣāyase*) RV. SV.

ṣaḍ id yamā (TA. *udyamā*) *rṣayo devajā iti* RV. AV. TA. N.
ud it te vasuvittamāḥ ApŚ.: *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ*
 RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.
sarvān it tān anu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ RV.: *sarvam uktam anuvidur vasiṣṭhāḥ*
 JB.
viśvair devai rātibhiḥ samrarāṇaḥ (MG. *devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ*)
 ApMB. MG.
sugandhiṇi (*subandhūni*) . . ., see §152.
lokam (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmī* (RV. *jāmim*) *īyatuh*
 RV. MS. ApŚ.
 [*vātāpe pīva id bhava* RV. KS.†—Conc. *ud* for KS. *id*.]
nāḍya śatruṇṇ nanu (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. SV.
 See §255; and other interchanges of *vi*: *yu* in §805.
alivandāya svāhā KSA.: *iḥwardāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. See §579.
achidrā uśijāḥ padānu takṣuḥ TS.: *achidrośijāḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣiṣuḥ*
 (so text, em. by Caland; ms.† *padānitakṣiṣvat*) KS.
vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
 ŚG. *adābhyāḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

7. Interchanges of long *ī* and *ū* (*u*)

§623. Here are found only a few stray variants:
ūrjāni saṁsūdena (KSA. °*sūdena*) TS. KSA. Parts of a horse's body;
 wholly obscure. TS. comm.: *saṁsūdanṇ saṁtataḥṣaraṇo nāsikādih*.
viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyyamānaḥ VS.: *apūtapā ādhūyamānaḥ* TS. The
 passages are rather low bathos.
ahir na jūrṇām (TB. *ahir ha jūrṇām*) *ati sarpati tvacam* RV. SV. TB.
 Both participles of the dissyllabic root *jṛ*. The *ī* form is regular in
 Sanskrit, but the Vedic *ū* form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton,
Ind. Stud. C. R. Lanman 27).
ṛkṣo jatūḥ suśīlikā (*suśulūkā*) . . ., see §621.
sam ūn (SV. *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV. AV. SV.
dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ . . . VS.: *pīṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhr-*
vanūkāśān ApŚ. See §742.

CHAPTER XIV. VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel; especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical; that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

1. *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself:

ava sma durhaṇāyataḥ (SV. *durhrṇ°*) RV. SV. The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hrṇ*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *haṇ*.

īṣāṇ khṛgalyaṇ śavam (ApŚ. *khagalyaṇ śapham*) MS. ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khṛgala*, RV., if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

paṣṭhavād (MS. *prṣṭhavād*, p.p. *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dalhuḥ* VS. MS. KS.

TB. The p.p. form of MS. suggests that its saṁhitā form may be a hyper-Sanskritism; in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word.

etāṁ saṁkr̥ṣya (MS. MŚ. °kaṣya or °kuṣya) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. The MS. MŚ. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words; Boehtlingk chooses the form °kuṣya. But they are probably Prakritic after all.

achalābhiḥ (KSA. °rābhiḥ, MS. [m]atsarābhiḥ, VS. ṛkṣalābhiḥ) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184. The AV. knows ṛcharā; probably *r* is older than *a*.

§632. The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with *r*:

sarvaṁ tāṁ masmasā (VS. bhas°) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāṁs tāṁ maṣmaṣā* (MS. †mṛsmṛsā) *kuru* MS. KS. TA.: *sarvān ni maṣmaṣākaram* AV. In this onomatopoetic word (cf. Eng. mash) there is no doubt that the *a* vowel is original; MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and 'hifalutin'.

atirātraṁ varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS. vavarṣvān pūrta rāvaṭ, KS. vavṛṣvān pūta rāvaṭ) TS. MS. KS. And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations. Despite the lingual *ṭ* in MS. *rāvaṭ*, which might be argued to point to an original *r*, we believe with Keith that *āvṛt* is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing. Cf. §168.

vanasade (MS. vanarṣade, KS. vanṛṣade) *veṭ* (TS. MS. vaṭ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

vasūni cārur (SMB. cārye, ApMB. cāryo, HG. cāyyo) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. bhṛj°, HG. bhajā sa) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. The SMB. form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt; one ms. *bhajāsi*; Stönnner 'geniessen' (as if *bhaj*).

yajuryuktāṁ sāmabhur āktakhaṁ tvā (MS. ṛktakhaṁ tā, p.p. ṛktakhām iti ṛkta-khām, tā [unaccented]) MS. TA. This is the only case of *ā* varying with *r*; it is highly problematic. See §365.

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character. In the first we have probably a mere textual error:

jīvasūr devakāmā (HG. vīrasūh) *syonā* ApMB. HG.: *prajāvatī †vīrasūr devṛkāmā* AV.: *vīrasūr devakāmā* (AV. devr°, SMB. °sūr jīvasūr deva°, GG. °sūr jīrasūr) *syonā* (AV. omits; GG. jīvapatinī) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. MG. Most mss. of AV. read *deva*° both times, and this is doubtless the true AV. reading, as Whitney observes. Either reading would however make sense.

indro nāma śruto gr̥ṇe (TB. ApŚ. *gaṇe*) SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *gr̥ṇe* is dubious; Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing. passive; *gaṇe* is simple enough but may be a lect. fac.

jātena jātam ati sa pra sarsṛte (TB. *ati sṛt pra sṛṇsate*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *sṛt prasṛtam, ati prasṛṇsate 'tiśayena prasraṇsayaaty adhaḥ karoti*. TB. is evidently secondary.

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words. We omit cases of *brhat* and *mahat*, cf. §241.

vadhūr jajāna (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakrj*) *janitrī* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB. See §46.

jagdhā vitṛṣṭir (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭi svāhā* ApMB.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir jagdho maśakaḥ* HG. See §156.

ud usriyāḥ srjate (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

dadhr̥g (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. °*kṣan*) *paryañkhayāte* (TA. °*tai*, AV. *parīñkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. See §145.

ajanti (SV. *mṛjanti*) *vahninīḥ sadanāny* (SV. °*neṣv*) *acha* RV. SV.

savitā bhr̥tyām (KS. †*manyām*) TS. KS. So ms. of KS.; ed. em. *bhr̥tyām*.

yad adya dṛgdhaṁ pṛthivīm asṛpta (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §152.

satyaujasā dṛṇhaṇā (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*dṛhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhr̥ṇo yaṁ nudethe* AV. See §305.

somah sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānaḥ (SV. *suta r̥cyate pūyamānaḥ*) RV. SV. See §57.

rasena sam asṛkṣmahi (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apr̥kṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

yūr (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS. † °*tho*, AV. *viśato*) *yaṁ ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. † °*thah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. But cf. §838; it is doubtful if this belongs here.

ye bhakṣayanto na rasūny ānr̥dhuh (TS. *ānr̥dhuh*, MS. *ānaśuh*) AV. TS. MS.

āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsurāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

2. *r* and *i* (once *ī*)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form. Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following.

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts; and even in the fourth a v. l. has it:

tejo yaśasvi sthaviṛaṁ samiddham (ŚG. *saṃṛddham*, v. l. *sami°*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34; *samiddham* is pretty clearly for *saṃṛddham*.

dadhiṣa ehi ApŚ.: *dadhr̥ṣy ehi* MS. The forms are voc. sing. fem., and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhṛṣ*; so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'.

To these may be appended another, in which however *i* for *r* seems to be a textual corruption:

ayan̄ śatrūn jayatu jarhṣāṇaḥ (AŚ.† *jarhiṣ°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. But elsewhere AŚ. has the vikāra: *ahan̄ śa° jayāmi jarhṣāṇaḥ*, indicating that *jarhiṣ°* is corrupt.

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next; *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhid*), cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34:

puram̄daro gotrabhid (MS. °*bhṛd*, all mss.; TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *i* and *r*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct:

jāmim rtvā māva patsi lokāt AV. *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The roots *r* and *i* are synonyms. But Poona ed. of TA. *jāmi mitvā*.

ādityānām prasitir (MS. °*sṛtir*) *hetir ugrā* MS. TB. TA. 'Extension': 'progress'. Cf. next two.

prayatiś ca me prasitiś (MS. KS. °*sṛtiś*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. and next.

dīrghām anu prasitīm (KS. *saṃṛtim*) *āyuse dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtim saṃspr̥sthām* MS. Cf. prec. two.

tām dhīrāso anudṛśya (VSK. °*dīśya*) *yajante* (KS. *ṭanudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS.: *tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante* VS. ŚB. *anu-diś* 'assign': *anu-dṛś* 'survey'.

taṁ ghed (MS. *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvatī* (MS. *vidh°*) RV. TS. MS. In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avatī*. MS. is obscure and probably corrupt; p.p. *vadhā* (sic!), *avatī*.

§638. To this same group belongs the single case involving long ī; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ. mss. read °mṛte with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mī* 'change, alter':

tasmin sīdāmṛte pratitiṣṭha (MŚ. text *sīdāmṛte pratitiṣṭhan*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Add to VV I §250.

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hīta* (or *dhīta*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhr* (*hr*):

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitaṁ dadhātu* TB.

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat VS.: *ga° nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

devair devīḥ samāhitāḥ RVKh. (but Scheftelowitz °hṛtāḥ): *devīr devaiḥ samāhṛtāḥ* (TB. °bhṛtāḥ) SV. TB.

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtaṁ (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*, MŚ. *nihitaṁ*) *padam hi te* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

hiraṇye 'smin samāhitāḥ (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °hṛtāḥ, HG. °bhṛtāḥ) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

garbha iva (SV. KU. [Poley's ed.] *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhiniḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

sūryaraśmīṁ samābhṛtam TS. TB.: *sūryāṇ (p.p. °yāt) śukraṁ samābhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santam* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitam* (KS. TA. *samābhṛtam*) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants:

prīyo ma hṛdo (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) 'si (MŚ. ṭbhava) TS. MŚ.

imā (MS. *idam*) *brahma pīpihi* (MS. *pipṛhi*, v. l. *pipīhi*) *saubhagāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vr̥ṣajūtir no 'vṛtaḥ (SV. 'vitā) RV. SV. *a-vṛ-taḥ: av-i-tā* (nom. ag., root *av*). *hotrāvidaḥ* (RV. °vida, TB. °vṛdha) *stomataṣṭāso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. *mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °anā) *dveṣyā † yā* AV.

KS. TB. ApŚ.

indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā samvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV. *spr̥santūm*, TA. *mṛsantūm*) RV. AV. TA.

atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ (RV. N. *vr̥ṣṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Viṣṇu is meant even in RV.; later texts substitute the name for the epithet.

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīrīr (SV. *prāntarīkṣāt sthāvīrīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV. SV. *vācas pate hṛdvidhe nāman* (MS. MŚ. *hinvidhe*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on the strange form. Even *hṛdvidhe* is none too clear (TA. comm. *hṛdayasya vidhātāḥ cittaprarakety arthah*).

vṛtrasyāsi (*mitra*°) . . . see §235.

made-made hi no dadīḥ (TB. *daduḥ*; MS. sañih. mss. *dadṛk*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. See §622.

adṛñhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi (MŚ. *tribhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §222.

īśāno vi ṣyā (= *ṣiyā*; TS. *srjā*) *dṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS.

upa yajñam asthita (AV. comm. *astṛta*, MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

dame-dame suṣṭutyā (TS. °*tīr*, MS.° *tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tir*) *vāvrđhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

[*eṣa iṣāya* (AV. Berlin ed. *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV. ŚŚ. Keep *iṣāya* with AV. mss.]

3. *r* (*ṛ*) and *u* (*ū*)

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be prevaillingly Prakritic in character. We should expect *u* for *r* especially in the vicinity of labial consonants; but except in the first variant (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case; the only other instances with labials (e.g. *bhr* and *bhū*) are lexical. The most clearly Prakritic cases are:

tvaṣṭṛmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. *tvaṣṭṛmatī* (TS. ApŚ. and TA. Poona ed. *tvaṣṭi*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. The Taittiriya form is feminized. *ut* (Vait. *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ. Vait. °*yor*) *ava gudaṁ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *sakthyor gṛdaṁ*) *dhehi* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. Altho *gṛda* seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be the original form of *guda*.

etāṁ samkṛṣya (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §631.

ṛtaprajātā (MŚ. *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vaḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. This may be called a lexical variant, since MŚ. makes sense; but it is doubtless fundamentally Prakritic.

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably both are mere textual errors or corruptions:

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB. Conc. *nahrṣo*) *yahvo agniḥ* RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading.
devaṃ manaḥ kuto (AV. *kṛto*) *adhi prajātam* RV. AV. Altho all mss. of AV. apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney.
made-made hi no dadīḥ (*daduḥ*, *dadrk*), see §§622, 640.

§643. More purely lexical variants are:
priyo me hrdo (MŚ. *hito* or *huto*) 'si (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ. See §640.
agner (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*; ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.
vanīṣṭhor hrdayād (AV.* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.
upa yaḡñam asthita (*astṛta*, *astu no*) . . ., see §640.
avimuktacakra (°*rā*) *āsīran* PG.: *vīrttacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.

Note labial consonants preceding *r*: *u*.

āyurdā deva (AV. *agne*) *jarasaṃ vṛṇānaḥ* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *grṇ°*) AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. HG. ApG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyusmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ* (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

§644. The only cases of long *ū* and *r* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhr*, which are practically synonyms here:

adbhyaḥ saṃbhṛtaḥ (TA. MahānU. ApŚ. *saṃbhūtāḥ*) *prthivyai* (MS. KS.† °*vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. KŚ. ApŚ. PG.

saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā (PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*; TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) 'bhībhūtaye (TS. ApŚ. *abhibhūtyai*, ŚŚ. 'bhībhṛtyai, KŚ. 'bhībhūtyai) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ariṣṭyā avyathyai saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (also *triṣṭubho*, *jagatyā*, *anuṣṭubho*, *pañktyā*) *abhibhūtyai svāhā* ApŚ.

Once *r* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms.:

tāsāṃ svasṛr aḡanayat (MS. *svaṛ aḡanan*, KS. ms.† *svasūr* [ed. em. *svasṛr*] *aḡanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS.

4. *ḷ* and *u*

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root *kḷp* appears twice in ApŚ. with *u* for *ḷ*. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS. variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots.

samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ (KS. °bhiś cākḷpānaḥ, ApŚ. °bhiś cāku-
pānaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.

satyaṁ pūrvair (KS. °vebhir) *ṛṣibhiḥ samvidānaḥ* (KS.† °bhiś cākḷpānaḥ,
ApŚ. cākupānaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.

5. *r* and *o*

§646. In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots
grh and *guh*:

grhyopagrhyo mayobhūr . . . ŚG.: *gohya* †*upagohyo* . . . SMB. PG.

6. *r* and *ar*

§647. The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§648. The following concern various finite verb forms:

pary agnīm ahr̥ṣata (VSK. †*ar̥ṣata* or *ahar̥ṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme*
'gnīm ar̥ṣata AV. (Ppp. ms. *ahar̥ṣata*; Barret JAOS 43. 99 em.
ahr̥ṣata.) Sigmatic aorists from *hr̥*, weak-grade or guṇa; the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf. VSK. and AVPpp.) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahr̥ṣata* and *ar̥ṣata*.

bahu hāyam (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *avṛṣad* (TS. *avṛṣād*, MS. *avar̥ṣid*) *iti śruta rāvat* (MS. °*vaḥ*, TS. *śrutar āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

pratya u adar̥śy (TB. *uv †adṛśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. This can only be a 3d sing. aor. pass., with *r* in TB. anomalously for *ar* (comm. *dṛśyate*). To be added to VV I §281.

bhartam (VS. ŚB. *bhṛtam*) *agnīm purīṣyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See VV I p. 188.

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS. *abhi no nivartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā var̥tsva*) VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.: *abhī na ā var̥tsva* RV. See VV I p. 126.

punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś. *ūrjā var̥tsva*) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

ime jīvā vi mṛtair āvar̥tṛan (TA. *āvararttin*, Poona ed. °*rtin*) RV. AV. TA. See VV I p. 42.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA. *dadhar̥ṣa*, ŚŚ. *dadhar̥ṣayā*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 89.

§649. In various participles and gerundives:

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 147.

jāgaritāya (KSA. *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Both equivalent participles. *adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyaḥ* (TB. *ṛdhyah*) RV. TB. Gerundives; cf. Whitney §963b, 4.

dāma grīvāsv avimokyani yat (TS. *avicartyam*) AV. TS.: *pāsaṁ grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS. ŚB. °*cṛtyam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. AVPpp. according to Whitney has °*cṛtyam*.

§650. In other noun and adjective formations:

śaṁ methir (ApMB. *śaṁ te methī*) *bhavatu śaṁ yugasya tardma* (ApMB. *tṛdma*) AV. ApMB. No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known.

atandrāso yuwatayo tvibhṛtram (TB. *vibhartram*) RV. TB. Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *bībhartram*. Agni is referred to; TB. comm. *poṣakam*.

aprajastāṁ pautramṛtyum ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyaṁ pautramartyam* SMB. Comm. on SMB. repeats the form, glossing *putrasaṁ-bandhimaraṇam*.

pra sa (tead *su*?) *mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG.: *pra sumartyaṁ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* ApMB. SMB.: *prathamam artiṁ yuyotu naḥ* MG.

agner (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vaḥ*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ. In ApŚ. a blended stem *-martyu* (fused from *marta*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*); cf. prec.

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB. *martave*) RV. PB. Infinitive in PB.

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV. JB.

vanasade (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veḥ* (TS. MS. *vaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV. in compounds. It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here. The next preceding phrase in KS. is *nṛṣade veḥ*; the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°.

devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nyarthāt (AV. *nirṛthāt*) RV. AV. TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition'; *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic.

[*niṣkartā* (RV. KŚ. *iṣ*°, ApMB. Conc. wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vihrutaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *viḥṛtaṁ*) *punaḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.]

§651. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words:

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *artanam*, comm. *duḥkḥinam*; BR. 'reviler'; *ṛtulam*, comm. *deśarājarārtākathanaśīlam*.

sarṇīkāya tvā TS.: *syḍīkāya tvā* MS. Both words wholly obscure; said to mean 'water'.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ.° *yai*) *rṇayā na īyase* (SV. *īrase*) RV. SV. KB. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV.

7. *r* and *ār*

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the vridhhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r*. Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*:

aprajāstvanṁ mātavatsam AV.: *aprajastānṁ pautramṣtyum* ApMB. HG. Others, §650.

ārtavā (MS. KS. *rtavo*) *adhipataya* (MS. KS. 'dhi°) *āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt* TS.

rtavo 'srjyanta VS. TS. ŚB.: *ārtavā asrjyanta* MS. KS.

agnir gr̥hapatīnām (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ārtyai (TB. *rtyai*) *janavādinam* VS. TB. Stem *rti*, from *r*: *ārti*, from *ā + r*.

8. *r* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to *r*: *ir*, we find just two cases in which the *samhitā* mss. of MS. (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir*. In both cases the p.p. points to the reading *ir*. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other; there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other:

nama ānirhatebhyah (MS. *ānr°*, p.p. *ānir°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS. mss. *nakṛṇu*, ed. em. *nakir ṇu*; p.p. *nakis, tu*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

§654. Under *r*: *ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious: *agnir dvārā vy rṇvati* RV. TB. Conc. quotes *urṇvati* for TB.; but Poona ed. text and comm. *rṇ°* without v. l.

satyaujasā dṛṇhaṇā (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*dṛhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS. And others: see §305.

nābhimṛṣe (MS. KS. *nābhidhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tunuvā*) *jarbhurāṇah* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Might also be classed in §643.

§655. Of *r*: *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *r* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrṇu*, really a form of *vr*:
tveṣas te dhūma rṇvati (AV. *ūrṇotu*) RV. AV. SV. LŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

9. *r* and *ra*, *rā*

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Saṁprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp. 69–71, and cf. the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *r* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p. 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation): and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657. The cases of so-called Saṁprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *grbh*, on which see especially VV I §281:

agr̥bhūt VSK.: *agrabhūt* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agr̥bhīṣata VS.: *agrabhīṣata* KS.

udgrābheṇod agrabhūt (MS. *ajigrabhat*, KS. *ajigrabham*, and *ajigr̥bham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnaye tvā mahyañ . . . pratigrāhītre (ŚŚ. °*gr̥hṇate*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.
prāṇo dātra edhi . . . pratigrāhītre (ŚŚ. °*gr̥hṇate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. The same with *hayo dātra . . .*

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms:
viṣe viṣam apr̥kthāḥ (*aprāḡ api*) AV. (both)

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel l. c.; some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical:

hradañ (MS. *hṛdañ*) *na hi tvā nyr̥ṣanty ūrmayaḥ* RV. MS. 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāṇi*).'
 The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *saṁprasāraṇa*. Cf. next.

namo nīveṣyāya (p.p. *nī*°) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hṛdayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS. °*ṣyyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS. See §248. The MS. and VS. forms simulate derivatives of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya*, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hṛda* = *hrada* found in MS. in the preceding variant.

prkṣasya (ArS. *prakṣ*°) *vr̥ṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. *prkṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse; its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere.

nimrado (ApŚ. *nimṛdo*) 'si MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p. 71.

avātiratam br̥sayasya (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV. TB. See §69.

bhr̥jaś chandaḥ MS.: *bhṛjaś chandaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *bhr̥jaś chandaḥ* KS.† (but v. l. *bhra*°). The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhr̥j*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l. c. but may be related to *bhr̥jj*, Wackernagel p. 69; cf. also *bhargas* etc. There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots. Cf. next.

kṣuro bhṛjaś (TS. *bhr̥jvāñ*, MS. *bhr̥jaś*, VS. *bhr̥jaś*, stigmatized by Conc. as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

ārdraḥ prathasnur (MŚ. †*pr̥thusnur*, v. l. *pratha*°) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71.

svasty apsu vr̥jane svarvati (MG. †*vrajanē svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. Really a lexical variant; *vrajana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda. But some MG. mss. read with RV.

[*digbhyaś cakravākāḥ* (KSA. Conc. *cakṛv*° with the sole ms.; ed. em. *cakrav*°) TS. KSA. This is probably a mere corruption; if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same.]

§659. The roots *rādh* and *ṛdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin; and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group. Cf. also §806:

ṛdhyāsam adya makhasya śiraḥ MS. TA. ApŚ.: *makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsam devayajane pr̥thivyāḥ* VS. ŚB. [The references to MS. MŚ. in Conc. seem to be erroneous.]

tan me rādhyatām VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś. *samṛddham*) TB. SMB. Kauś.

harivato graham ṛdhyāsam KS.: *harivato hariyojanasya harivantam graham rādhyāsam* MS.

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p. 212 f.) is;

saṁsṛṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MS.: *saṁsraṣṭā* (AV. v. 1. *saṁsṛṣṭā*) *sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.

§661. From the root *śr*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise:

suśrātam (AV. *suśṛtam*) *manye tad ṛtam navīyaḥ* RV. AV.

§662. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*:

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG.: *āpo jāgrta* MS. KS. MŚ.: *āpo haviṣu jāgrta* ApŚ.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 123.

ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS. *jāgrtha*) AV. KS. See VV I p. 221.

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ.: *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 96.

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS. † *jāgrta*) AV. KS.

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś. See VV I p. 257.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS. *bibhṛato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS. Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p. 158), and obscure as to interpretation.

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*:

hotrakāṇāni (MŚ. *hotṛk°*, v. 1. *hotrak°*) *camasādhvaryavaḥ* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest. See Caland on ApŚ. 12. 23. 4.

§664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated; notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kr*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology:

puñjikasthalā (KS. † *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, and so naturally flexible.

saṁsṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. *indra kratvā* (MS. *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. The

MS., which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrah*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratrā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness.

mainā arvā reṇukakāṭaḥ prṇak (MS.† [v. l. *prṇak*] KS. *praṇak*) MS. KS.

TB. *pra-ṇak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*; *prṇak* from *pre*.

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt (ŚG. *śramo dadat*) MS. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. See §277.

§665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague:

drapsaś caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV.

AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vague assonance only.

taṁ tvaṁ viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn (KS. *°bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ.

sā (read *sa*?) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *ahāḥ, ānī, yāmānaḥ*!) MS.: *sa no rucāṁ dhehy ahrṇīyamānaḥ* TA. The MS. is hopelessly corrupt; probably read *ahrṇīyamānaḥ*.

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣaṇā agrbhṇām*) RV. VS.

TS. KS.

idāsmān anu vastāṁ ghr̥tena ApŚ. MŚ.: *idāvāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastāṁ vratena* RVKh. AV. Scheftelowitz reads *ghr̥tena* in RVKh.

idam ahaṁ sarpāṇām . . . grathnāmi (MŚ. mss. *kṛtsnāmi*) TS. ApŚ.

MŚ. See §47; MŚ. perhaps corruption for *grath°*.

nadayor vīratayoḥ śūra indraḥ RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indraḥ* SV. See §828.

viśvair devai rātībhiḥ samraraṇaḥ (MG. *devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ*)

ApMB. MG.

āvitte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate*

TS. TB. In this and the next, TS. has interchanged the two old adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV.).

āvittau (TS. *āvinnaū*) *mītrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. *°ṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

10. *r* and *ri*, *rī*

§666. Since *r* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *r* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects). On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp. 31 ff. It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss., including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard. As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5. 14. 3, apropos of the pāda: *riśasyeva parīśāsam*. So the Berlin ed. prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss. read *rśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss., but with some of them and with the comm., Whitney would also read *rśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm* in AV. 1. 18. 4a, where both editions have *riśya*°.

§667. These AV. cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS., which presents *triṣu* for *tṛṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *tṛṣ*) and *tvaṣṭri* for the god-name *tvaṣṭr*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss., despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyaṇīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

tṛṣu (MS. *triṣu*) *yad annā vevīṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

tṛṣucyavaso (MS. *triṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS.

tvaṣṭrmantas (MS. MŚ. *tvaṣṭri*°; ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Others, see §641.

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krimi*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛmi* (Wackernagel I p. 33; Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.*, s. v.). Several variants show both forms of this common word:

hataḥ te atrīṇā krimiḥ (GG. *kṛ*°) SMB. GG.: *atriṇā tvā krime hanmi* TA.

ApŚ.: *atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi* AV.

hatāḥ krimayah (but Jørgensen text and comm. *kṛ*°) *sāśātikāḥ sanīla-makṣikāḥ* SMB.: *āśātikāḥ kṛmaya* (but Poona ed. *kṛ*°, v. l. *kṛ*°)

iva TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlaṃgoḥ (MS. °*gave*) *kṛmiḥ* (TS. *kṛ*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *r*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism; or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *r* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss. is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *r* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially.

§670. Take for instance the proper name *Trita*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrīta*). Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV. (6. 113. 1 and 3) it is spelled *Tṛta*, according to all mss. known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB. parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trita*. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss.:

tṛta enam (read *enan*; TB. *trita etan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* (TB. *mā°*)
AV. TB.

tṛte (TB. *trite*) *devā amṛjaitad enaḥ* AV. TB.

§671. There is little doubt that the MS. form *āpaprvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pṛ*, as Whitney questioningly suggests. The MS. p.p. has °*pri°*.

āpaprivān (MS. *āpaprvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§672. The verb *sredhati* makes it clear that *sridh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV. mss. read *sridhaḥ*, which Whitney regards as the true AV. reading:

ati niho ati sridhaḥ (AV. MS. *sṛdhaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§673. In the next *krivi* is the only form known to RV., and so may perhaps be assumed as the original; both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown:

ā va indraṁ kriviṁ (SV. Svidh. *kṛviṁ*) *yathā* RV. SV. ŚŚ. Svidh.

adha tviṣīmāṇ abhy ojasā kriviṁ (SV. *kṛviṁ*, v. l. *kriviṁ*) *yudhābhavat*
RV. SV.

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law; when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV.) reading was pronounced *pitṛiyāc*, and for this TA. *pitṛyāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ri*:
vayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, TS. and p.p. of MS. *jāgriyāma*)
purohitāḥ VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dyaur naḥ pitū pitṛyāc (TA. *pitṛyāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA. *bhavāsi*) AV. TA.

Cf. the next where the RVKh. reading is doubtful:

āvyaṣaṁ jāgrtād aham AV.: *dvyuṣaṁ jāgriyād aham* RVKh. Aufrecht.

but Scheftelowitz *āvyaṣaṁ jāgryām* (em., for ms. °yāmy) *aham*. Cf. VV I. p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning; presumably MS. is secondary:

vikirida (KS. °ḍa, VS. °dra, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS.

§676. Finally a few corruptions and false readings:

ya rte (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, PB. *ṭyakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV.

SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cetid* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśriṣaḥ* MS. (grossly corrupt; cf. §193).

saṁ tvā riṇanti (Vait. *ṛṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait.; *saṁ-r* and *saṁ-ri* would be virtual synonyms; but a 9th class present from *r* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup., but not known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*). The Vait. reading is therefore doubly suspicious. See §992.

[*imau te pakṣāv* (°ṣā) *ajarāu palatriṇau* (VSK. TS. KS. °ṇaḥ; Conc. wrongly quotes TS. as *patatrṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.]

§677. Twice *r* varies with *rī*; both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases:

śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ.: *śṛtas tvam śṛto* 'ham KS. Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śr*, *śrā*, *śrī* 'cook, mature'.

adbhir viśvasya bhartr̥bhiḥ ApMB.: *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartr̥bhiḥ* ŚG.

In ApMB. a distinctively feminine stem *bhartrī* is used, to agree with *adbhiḥ*; ŚG. uses the stem *bhartr̥* as of common gender.

11. *r* and *ru*

§678. The shift between *r* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than that between *r* and *ri*. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *r* of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*, instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr. 14. 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurvanty oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau*). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with *r*:*ri*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *r* in conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring.

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

bhṛmīṇ (TB. *bhṛumīṇ*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear; one of Sāyaṇa's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhṛumi* by TB. comm., who derives it from root *bhram*.

dṛāsi VS.: *dṛbāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An obscure word; note the following *b*. There is no way of determining the original form.

§680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait. texts for regular *pruṣvā*; note the preceding *p*. BR. call *prṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA. comm. explains by *jalabinduḥ*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait. school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters; see e.g. Keith on TS. 7. 4. 13. 1.

pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ VS. MS.: *aśrubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *prṣ°*) TS. KSA.

pruṣvābhyaḥ (TS. *prṣ°*, KSA. ed. *pruṣṭābhyas*, ms. *praṣṭā°*, read probably *pruṣvā°*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

śam u prṣṭhāva (read with Poona ed. text and comm. *prṣvāva*) *śīyatām* TA.: *śam te pruṣvāva śīyatām* AV.

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait. school; the MS. is more seriously corrupt: *purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jatrūbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyah!*) *ātṛdah* (MS. *°da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

§682. The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sr* and *sru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *sruti* both mean 'course, way': *dve sruṭi* (VS. KS. ŚB. BṛhU. KŚ. *sṛti*, and so TB. Conc., but Poona ed. *sruṭi*) *aśṛṇavāṇ pītṛṇām* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS. 38. 2 to *sruṭi*.)

namah srutyāya (KS. *sṛt°*) *ca pathyāya ca* VS. TS. KS.: *namah pathyāya ca srutyāya ca* MS. Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec. *ā tvā parisrutah* (AG. *°sṛitah*, MG *°sṛtah*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB.† *°āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *emāṇ parisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG.: *emāṇ parisrutah kumbhaḥ* AV.: *pūrṇāṇ parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB. No form *parisṛt* is otherwise recorded; despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG. (all mss.) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutah*.

hiraṇyam aśṛtaṁ (ŚB. BṛhU. GP. *asrutaṁ*) *bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU.

AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here *sru* varies with *str*; 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold).

Cf. *mṛgasya śṛtam* (HG. *śṛtam*, ApMB. vv. II. *srutam*, *śrutam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. See §278.

§683. Similarly *hr* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*; the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like. A third variation between *hr* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption.

avinaṣṭān avihrutān (AŚ. °*hṛtān*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

iṣkartā vihrutaṁ punaḥ RV. KŚ.: *niṣkartā* (Conc. wrongly °*kṛtā* for ApMB.) *vihrutaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *viḥṛtaṁ*) *punaḥ* AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. ApMB. In TA. there is a v. l. *vihrutaṁ*, adopted in the text in Poona ed.; but the comm. even there reads *viḥṛtaṁ*, and glosses *viśeṣeṇa bhagnam*.

aśloṇā (comm. *aśroṇāḥ*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aśloṇāṅgair aḥṛtā svarge* TA. But Poona ed. text and comm. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. °*tā*, for TA., and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hr* is not a synonym of *hru*; *aḥṛta* would make no sense; comm. *kauṭilyarahitāḥ* (= *ahrutāḥ*).

§684. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious:

ruvad dhokṣā (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. KB. TB. The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared'. This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB.

śivā rutasya (VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*, TS. and v. l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Original is certainly *rutasya*: 'healer of what is injured'. *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect. fac., and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *r* and *ru*.

satyaujasā dṛiḥaṇā (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*drḥaṇā*) *yaṁ nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau dṛuhvaṇo yaṁ nudethe* AV. Multiple confusion; see §305, etc.

mayobhūḥ śāntamū yad dhrudo (comm. *dhṛdo*) 'si TB. So Conc.; but Poona ed. text with comm. *dhṛdo*.

CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAṆPRASĀRAṆA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e: ai* and *o: au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

1. *i: e*

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems; with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives:

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahāmo 'śivā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahāta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. **aśivāḥ*, **asan durevāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. The meter properly requires *aśevāḥ* if the word be final (VS. ŚB. transpose).

yā sarasvatī viśobhaginā (MS. ApŚ.**veśa°*; KS. *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. *viśo-* is gen. sing. of *viś*.

dīvyāḥ kośāḥ samukṣitāḥ MS.: *daivyaḥ kośāḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośāḥ*) *samubjītaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

dīvo jyote (KS. **jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvān adītir devajūtis* . . . TS.

devya (ApŚ. *divyā*, v. l. *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ

sūryo divo (TS. KS.* *devo*) *diviṣadbhyaḥ* (TS. KS. °*bhyo* . . .) TS. KS.* MŚ.

puṇse putrāya veltavai (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*) ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApMB. ApŚ. HG.

pra surānāso (SV. *svā*°) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. °*deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV. *lekah salekah* . . . TS.: *salilah saligah* . . . MS. KS. See §49.

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff. below; Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347):

tridhā (MS. *tredhā*) *badldho vṛṣabho roravīti* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. N.

§688. In the stem-syllable of verbal forms:

maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana AV.: *maiṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *māmīṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS.

yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣataś (v. l. KS. *nimeṣ*°) *ca rājā* MŚ. KS.: *yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣato* (VS. *nimeṣ*°) *mahitvā* RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*; the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded. Add to VV I §197.

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvaṁ reto dhiṣīya (MS. *dhe*°) . . . MS. KS.: *viśvasya te* . . . *vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retāṁsi dhiṣīya* TS. Cf. next. The form *dheṣīya* seems to be established in the Maitr. school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guṇa *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhī*?). See VV I p. 186.

somasyāhaṁ devayajyayā suretā (MŚ. *viśvaṁ*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ. *dhe*°) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere. See VV I §§39–79 and 82 *et passim*.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat.-abl. plur. forms in *ibhyas*: *ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n)*: *a*.

divācarebhyo (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyaḥ* (sc. *namah*) MG. ViDh.: *ahaścarebhyaḥ* (sc. *namah*) ŚG.

naktāncarebhyaḥ ŚG. ViDh.: *naktāncāribhyo bhūtebhyaḥ* MG.

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MŚ. °*dhcbhyo*) 'm:brūhi ŚB. MŚ.

marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

svāheṣṭibhyaḥ (Kauś. °*ṭebhyaḥ svāhā*) KS. Kauś.: *iṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā vaṣaḍ aniṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā* TB. ApŚ.

§691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms; since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists:

pūṣṇe śarase (MS.† °*si*) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS.

ŚB. KŚ. The majority reading (dat.) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc. of MS. is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage.

hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakuniḥ HG.: *hiraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG. Nom.: voc. *pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe* (SV. PB. *maheṛdhe*) *bharadhvam* RV. SV. AV.

PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The SV. seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding).

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūrah*) RV. AV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Nom.: gen.

agnir hotā vetv agnir (AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir hotā vettv agner hotraṁ vettu* . . . ŚB. Nom.: gen.

kratvā varīṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.

§692. Oddities of noun stems:

agner agneyāny (KS. *agni*°) *asi* (MS. v. l. and p.p. *agner agner yāny asi*)

MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS.

ApŚ. MŚ. See §357, and cf. *vāyosāvitra* . . . , §716.

śrudhī śruta śraddhivam (AV. *śraddheyaṁ*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. See §248; both forms have the force of gerundives.

§693. The remaining variants are lexical; but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688:

sa idhāno (KS. *edh*°) *vasuṣ* (MS. *vasuḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guṇa.

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhī*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. °*sv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS.

AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The MS. form could be interpreted as a 2d sing. impv. from *jan* but for the accent (*jāniṣva*), which seems to call for emendation.

ino (AV. *enā*) *viśvasya bhūvanasya gopāḥ* RV. AV. N. *ino*, nom. of stem *ina*; *enā*, adverbial pronominal form.

utem (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-īm*: acc. sing. of *ūti*.

krīṭī ca śākī cojjeṣī (ApŚ. *sākī* †*corjiṣī* *ea*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. See §407.

āsanniṣūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*vācā mendriyāviśa* TS. KS. MŚ. Conc. *vācam indr'* for KS.; so ed. reads at 4. 14, but at 31. 15 (p. 18, n. 1) it is corrected.]

§694. Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*:

īndram (SV. *endram*) *agnim ca voḍhave* RV. SV.

iha (MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS. MS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. †1. 14. 19.

tve iṣaḥ (KS. *viṣve*; MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *sāmdadhur bhūrivarpasaḥ* (TS. † *bhūri-retasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See Von Schroeder's note. If correct, MS. must intend *tve*, *ā*, *iṣaḥ*; but the p.p. reads *tve iti tve, iṣaḥ*.

tāv (*tā*) *ehi* (*eha*, *eva*, AV. *iha*) . . ., see §§578, 888.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.

See §180.

ādityānām patvānv (PB. °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA. †*ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB.

2. ī: e

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different:

viśo yantre (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātim* KS. TB. ApŚ. Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantrī*.

śaṁgayī (MS. ŚB. °*gavī*, TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva*°) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

vairājī (KSA. † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA. †) TS. KSA. Also fem. duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA. as von Schroeder would do. *rātri* (TB. °*rī*, KS. v. l. °*riḥ*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS. † TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB.

mahī viśpatnī sadane (KS. °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *sadane* is loc. sing.: '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*'. KS. makes *sadanī* fem. dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *araṇis*); the other reading is simpler and most likely original.

vaiśvānarāya matir naryasī (ArS. °*se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. Nom. sing. fem.: dat. sing. masc. (with *agnaye* in next pāda).

nābhā samidāyī naryasī (SV. °*dāya naryase*) RV. SV. As prec.

rāyas poṣaṁ cikītuṣe (AV. °*ṣī*) *dadātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. As prec.

ūrṇamradā yuvatir (AV. °dāḥ *prthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA. °tī) RV. AV. TA.

As prec.

tava praśastayo mahīḥ (SV. °taye *mahe*) RV. SV. Nom. pl.: dat. sing. *satyasya dharmaṇas patī* (ApŚ. *pate*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. Vocatives, dual and sing. *graha viśvajānīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS. KS. See §838.

sa supraṇṭe (ŚŚ. °tī) *nṛtamaḥ svarād asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms are uncertain. The two text mss. of ŚŚ. have °te; comm. apparently °tī which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc. ('in good guidance'?). Sāyaṇa on AA. takes °te as loc., and Keith follows him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid'; but in his note Keith suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc., 'O good leader'.

īdīṣvā hi mahe (ApŚ. *mahī*, v. l. *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Acc. dual (with *dyāvāprthivī*): dat. sing. (with *hotrāya*).

śruṣṭī (SV. °te) *jātūsa indavaḥ svarvidaḥ* RV. SV. Instr. (?) of *i*-stem: loc. of *a*-stem. SV. comm. in one of two places reads *śruṣṭī*.

īyam oṣadhe (PG. °dhī) *trāyamāṇā* PG. HG. ApMB. The voc. cannot be construed; see Winternitz on ApMB., Introduction, xxiv.

mrgā na bhīmās taviṣṭbhīr arcinaḥ (TB. °ṣebhir *ūrmibhiḥ*) RV. TB. The adverbial instr. of RV. (from the noun *taviṣṭī*) is made an adj. agreeing with *ūrmibhiḥ* in TB.

daivibhyas (KS. *devēbhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS. °yas) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś. 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their) bodies.'

viśvā amītvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °ṣebhyah) AV. KS.

§696. A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which simulate that relationship:

agne devānām ava heḍa iyaksra (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje heḍyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *ava devān yaje heḍyān* TB. ApŚ.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. †*nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *tanī nṛmṇām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.

suśīmānī somasatsaru AV.: *suśevānī somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.

dhenā'm antaḥ sabardughām SV.: *dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah* RV. The gen. pl. of *dhī* is changed to an acc. sing.; but the accent of SV. shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhénā*); cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 9. 12. 7.

lālīlāya (MahānU. *lālē°*) *dhīmahi* TAA.† (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms. have different and equally ridiculous explanations *aṣṭādhāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N. Lexical.

In the reduplicating syllable:

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge ni dīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS. is felt as such; cf. VV I pp. 149, 160.

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS. ed. reads as ApŚ., with v. l. as Conc.: *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) . . . KS. ApŚ. VV I p. 86.

anu stomam mudīmahi (PB. *made°*) RV. AV. PB. Optatives of different verbs.

mā tvāgnir dhanayīd (TS. *°yid*, KSA. *°yed*, MS. *dhanayīd*) . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf. §694:

vāmam pitrbhyo ya idam samerire (AV. *samī°*) RV. AV. ApMB.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānaḥ* MS.

See §180.

3. *i*: *ai*

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vridhhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vridhhi:

vaiśvānara uta viśvadāryaḥ AV. KS.: *yo vaiśvānara uta †viśvadāryaḥ* (ApŚ. *vaiśvadevyāḥ*) MS. ApŚ. Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV. *viśvadevyāḥ*, which he states is the reading of Ppp., but this is an error; Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 32. 358) has *°davyāḥ*, intending *°dāryāḥ*. Only ApŚ. has a derivative of *viśvadeva*.

dīryaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS.: *daīryaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

achinno divyas (KS. ApŚ. *daīvyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

bṛhanto daivāḥ (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

nirbādhyena (AV. *nair°*; Ppp. *nir°* according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV. TB. ApŚ.

bṛhatā tvā rathamitareṇa triṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathamitarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* . . . TS.

aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāham śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB.

īndrasya vaiṃṛdhasyāhaṃ (KS. *īndrasyāhaṃ vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ. but not †MŚ. adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

kapota (MS. °tā) *ulūkaḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

nirṛtyai svāhā MŚ.: *nairṛtyai* (sc. *dīṣe*) *svāhā* VāDh.

vihāyaso (PG. *vaiḥ*°) 'dhi *bhūmyām* HG. PG. *vi*°, abl. of *vihāyas*; *vai*°, nom. of adj. *vaihāyasa*.

īndrasya śuśmam īrayann apasyubhiḥ RV. SV.: *aindraḥ śuśmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV.

vaivasvato (AV. *vīvasvān*) *no abhayaṃ kṛṇotu* AV. TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. *vai*°, of course, means *Manu*.

hairaṇyanābhaḥ (ŚŚ. *hir*°) *kausalyaḥ* ŚB. ŚŚ.

īndropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ. *aīndro*°) . . . ApŚ. MŚ. The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ. to *īndro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe.

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection:

īndrādhipatīḥ (MS. KS. °patyaiḥ) *pipṛtād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlords)' etc.

taṃ (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °yi) TS. MS. TA. The form in *yai* is dat. of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor'. The *yi* form would seem to be acc. neut. of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf. §247), perhaps used adverbially.

Two concerning aorist verb forms:

āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prāṇījan*) AV. ApŚ. See VV I p. 129. *pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam* (ApMB. °bhaiṣam) ApMB. HG. See VV I pp. 139, 186.

And one in which *ai* contains the augment:

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

4. ī: ai

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr. plur. and nom.-acc. plur. (fem.) forms:

īndreṇa devīr (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhaḥ saṃvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

devīr devīr (ApŚ. *devair*) *abhi mā nīvartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

sapta ca vāruṇīr (PG. °ṇair) *imāḥ* AG. PG. ŚG. MG.: *sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ* ApMB. HG. Followed in all by:

i'sraś ca rājabandhavīḥ (HG. °vaiḥ) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to pree. pāda.) *sarvās ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. °vyah) PG. MG.: *sarvās ca rājabāndhavīḥ* (ŚG.† °bāndhavaiḥ) AG. ŚG.
ā dadhnaḥ kalaśoir (ApMB. °śir, MG. °śam) *aguḥ* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iṇa*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.

§702. There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous; and one aorist verb form, also anomalous:

straiṣūyam anyatra dadhat AV.: *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) ā dadhat ŚG.

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai°*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In the pres. mid. pple. the vriddhi is quite out of place; 'blundering corruption', Whitney.

yad adīvyann (MS. *daīvyam*) *ṛṇam aham babhūva* (AV. *kṛṇomi*) AV. MS. TA. BDh.: *adīvyann ṛṇam yad aham cakāra* TB. The original is *adīvyan* 'not gambling'; MS. has a stupid lect. fac. Add to VV I §231.

indra enam (TB. ApŚ. *eṇam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.: cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarait* AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss. and Ppp. °śarīt, the regular form. See VV I p. 186.

5. *e: ai*

§703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them. They are fairly numerous; the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in *e: ai*; forms with *e: ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation; and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings.

§704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat. or loc.) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'. *asmai* (TB. *asme*) *dyāvāprthivī bhūri vāmam* (Conc. divides AV. before *vāmam*) AV. TB. *asme* is secondary.

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS. ApŚ.: *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana* VS. KŚ. Keith assumes that TS. intends *asmai*.

asmai (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS. AŚ. *asmai* is certainly simpler.

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāsme (AV. *kartam asmai*, VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. 'For him': 'for us', equally possible.

savitṛā prasavitṛā . . . indreṇāśme (VSK. °*smāi*) . . . VS. VSK. As prec. *asme* (AV. *asmāi*) *dhārayatām* (MŚ. °*tām*) *rayim* RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts; both possible.

asme (AV. *asmāi*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Equally possible.

asme (KBU. *asmāi*) *prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N. *asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya* (KŚ. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayeṇ anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya* TS.: *asmāi kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne* AV. Kauś. Different contexts.

asmāi (MS. *asme*) *karmaṇe jātaḥ* MS. ApŚ. 'For our rite': 'for this rite'. Probably lect. fac. in ApŚ.

asme (AŚ. *asmāi*) *indrābrhaspatī* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Probably misprint in AŚ.

§705. Other dative forms in *e*: *ai*, including infinitives:

tā (VS. ŚB. *yā*, TS. *te*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °*ye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The TS. form is anomalous; cf. Keith's note and Whitney, *Grammar* §976a. Infinitives.

havyāyāsmāi voḍhave (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś. Infinitives.

sugam meṣāya meṣyai (RV. °*ye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ.: *sukham meṣāya meṣyai* VS. ŚB.

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. Cf. §396.

ābhiṣ tvāhaṇ . . . *sūtave* (HG. °*vai*) HG. ApMB.

kuhvai (KSA. *kuhve*, ed. em. °*vai*) *trayo 'ruṇaitāḥ* TS. KSA.

puṇse putrāya vettavai (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*, KS. †*kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. l. °*ve*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.

śakrāya sunavai (JB. °*ve*) *tvā* RV. JB.

śriyai (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG.

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG.: *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG.: cf. *parīdan vāso adhithāḥ* (HG. °*dhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. ApMB. HG. These forms are taken as datives by the PG. comm., followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg. It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms; see VV I p. 112.

§706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc. sing. and instr. pl.):

ghṛtaratī savitar (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

avyo (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV.
punar brahmāṇo (*brahmā*) . . . *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*), see §339.

§707. When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vriiddhi* varying with other related forms without *vriiddhi*:

daivīm (VS. *devīm*) *nāvaṁ svaritrām anāgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS.
 TS. MS. KS.

devīḥ (AV. *dei°*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, and so Whitney for AV. with most mss.) *kr̥ṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.

daivibhyas (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS. °*yas*) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ.
 Kauś.

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*)
 VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

devān mā bhayād iti SMB.: *daivān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ.

imā yā devīḥ pradiśaś catasraḥ AV.: *yā daivīś catasraḥ pradiśaḥ* TB.
 ApMB. HG.

saṁ devena savitrā TA.: *saṁ daivena* (and, *daivyna*) *savitrā* VS. ŚB.
divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ MS.: *daivyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośaḥ*)
samubjitaḥ AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

vācā tvā hotrā . . . pañcabhir daivyaḥ (MŚ. *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi*
 ApŚ. MŚ.

mā devānām (TA. *daivyas*) *tantuś chedi mā manuṣyāṇām* (TA. *manu-*
ṣyaḥ) MS. KS. TA. ŚŚ.

indro jyeṣṭhānām (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

vaiśvānaram kṣaitrajityāya (TB. *kṣetra°*) *devāḥ* VS. TB.

somaindrā (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanah (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhva-*
naḥ, MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah*, read *svastyā°* with most
 mss.) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG.

meghyā (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§708. A couple of cases with *e*: *ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding; it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vriiddhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants.

avārāya kevaritam VS.: *pāryāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*, evidently of non-Aryan origin; and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism.

veśantābhyo dāśam TB.: *vaiśantābhyo baīdam* VS. Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin; but this time the usual form is *ve*°. Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS.

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *ai* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731. Wackernagel, l. c. (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *ai*, *au* to *e*, *o*; besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form:

adhi na indraiṣām (VS. *indreṣām*) RV. VS. Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS. is *indra-eṣām*. This is the most certain case.

neva māṇse na pībasi AV.: *naiva māṇsena pīvari* PG. The AV. p.p. reads *na*, *iva*; according to Barret JAOS 26. 205, Ppp. also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note). Yet it is possible that AV. really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading. *jagatyainaṁ* (AŚ. °*tyenaṁ*) *vikṣv ā veṣayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. °*mi*, AŚ. °*ni*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. In VV I p. 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenaṁ* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh; to be sure the edition of AŚ. inspires little confidence. But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc. *jagaty* instead of instr. *jagatyā*).

enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā KS. (prec. by *-mānā*; actual text, *-mānai-nāhne*°): the MŚ. version quoted in Conc. as *idāhna id āharam aśīya* is Knauer's emend. of corrupt mss. which begin [*-mān*]-*enāhned*-, doubtless intending the same as KS.

See also *anāmayaiddhi* etc., §344.

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *ai*; see VV I p. 28:

vi sakhyāni srjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*hai*, MŚ. *visrjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

yaṁ jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS. °*he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS. *havāmahai*) TS. MS. KS.

rayiṁ yena vanāmahai (SV. °*i*) RV. SV.

sacāvahe (MS. °*hai*, p.p. °*i*) *uṣṇam purā cit* RV. °*i*.

brahmāham aī . . . kṛve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV. KŚ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*; °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

anu nau sūra maṁsate (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

yā na ūrū ūsatī viśrayāte (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

pari śvajāte (AV. °*tai*) *libujeva vrkṣam* RV. AV. N.

pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV. TB.

dadhad vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayātai TA.: *dadhr̥g vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīṅkhayātai*) RV. AV.

manai (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. *yay, gā ākarāmahe* (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

varuṇeti śapāmahe (MS.† °*hai*; AV. *yad ūcima*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

§711. There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: *mṛtyoḥ padanī* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. °*ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

vācaspate 'chidrayā . . . hotrām airayat (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. Augmented forms in ŚB. KŚ.; the ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

ā te garbho yonim etu (AG. *aitu*) AG. ApMB. HG.: *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV. ŚG.: *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV.: *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB. HG. The preceding *ā* proves AG. secondary.

aiṣu (AŚ. *eṣu*) *dymnam sraṇ yamat* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Perhaps misprint in AŚ., as Whitney on AV. suggests.

etat te agne rādha aiti (MS. KS. *eti*) *somacyutam* TS. MS. KS.

grhān aimi (LŚ. HG. *emi*) . . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

abhyaiti (SV. *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. SV. VS.

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

he 'lavo he 'lavo ŚB.: *hailo hailo* ŚBK. Interjections.

mā bheḥ VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *mā bhair* MS. KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p. 129, and next.

mā bher mā . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā . . .* MS. KS. See prec. *uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenchi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p. 87.

uttamam nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*, TA. °*rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Pronouns *imam*: *enam*.

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (MŚ. °retām, AŚ. °bhavatām) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. fusion of *sambhara* and *etam*; in the others dual verb forms.

śatruhaṇam amitrahaṇam (KS. *śatru*^o *asi śatruhaṇam*) *bhrātṛvyahaṇam asurahaṇam traindraṇ* (ApŚ. text *tvendraṇ*) *vajraṇ sādāyāmi* KS. ApŚ. Here *tvendraṇ*, if not a corruption or misprint, can only be a phonetic reduction of *traindraṇ* (*tvā + aindraṇ*).

[*endraṇ* (TB. *aindraṇ*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *endraṇ*) *acucyaruḥ* . . . TB. ApŚ.]

6. u: o

§713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables; thus, in nouns and adjectives:

namo vaḥ pitarāḥ śuṣmāya (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720. *matyai śrutāya* (*mahe śrotāya*) *cakṣase* AV. (both)

ā mā stulasya stutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotaṁ gamyāt* PB.

duścyavanah pṛtanāṣād (°ṣāl) *ayudhyaḥ* (AV. MS. *ayodhyaḥ*) RV. AV. †19. 13. 7c, SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Gerundives.

deva gharma rucitas tvaṁ deveṣv ā MS.: *rocitas tvaṁ deva gharma deveṣv asi* TA. Causative and simple participles. Cf. next.

rucito gharmah MS. KB. ŚB. TA. etc.: *rocito gharma rucīya* TA. Cf. prec.

ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ AV.: *ānando modāḥ pramodaḥ* TB.: *modāḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.: *mudaḥ pramuda āsate* RV. Stems (*pra*)*mud* and (*pra*)*moda*.

druṇā (SV. *droṇe*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV. SV. Stems *dru* and *droṇa*.

714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations:

dyumnī ślokī (KŚ. *śuklī*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau*^o) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB. *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *suśimam somasatsaru* AV. See §180.

sumitraḥ soma no (Kauś. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. An obvious lect. fac. in Kauś.

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists:

yan me mātā pralulubhe (ApMB. HG. *pralulobha*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. MDh.

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist and present; see VV I p. 82.

āditya (AV. also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣaḥ* (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB. See VV I p. 130.

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

mā bher mā roṇ (VSK. *mo roṇ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kiṁ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca* (KS. *rauṇ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

mā dyāvāprthivī abhi śocīḥ (TS. *śūśucaḥ*, KS. *śucaḥ*, MS. *hīnśiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See *ibid.* p. 128.

devasya (°*syāham*) *savituh . . . ruheyam* (GB. *roh°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ. See *ibid.* p. 132.

sa yathā tvaṁ rucyā . . . ruciṣīya (MS. *rociṣīya*) AV. MS. See VV I p. 186.

On the following form see VV I p. 281; the MG. form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*:

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG. °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition:

vasuḥ (TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Nom. and gen. forms; the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.).

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ (AV. °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.

āyuskrte (ApŚ. *āyoṣ°*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ. Both 'maker of life'.

vāyosāvitra (TS. p.p. °*trah*; MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA. TPr. 6. 8 explains *vāyo°* by *vāyusavitṛbhyām*; it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*; cf. *agner agneyāny* etc., §692.

uror ā no (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

madhu reto (TS. *madhor ato*, KS.† *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §837.

§717. The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*; cf. below, §721:

saṁdhātā saṁdhiṁ (MS. °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. MS. p.p. *puro*°; MS. text *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. *puru viśvāni jūrvan* RV.: *puro rakṣāṁsi nijūrvan* AV.

§718. Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §§694, 698, 711:

obhe prṇāsi (TS. *ubhe prṇakṣi*) *rodasī* RV. TS. MS.: *prṇakṣi rodasī ubhe* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB.

ā yā dyām (MS. *divām*) *bhāsy ā pṛthivīm orv* (KŚ. *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant: *saḡūr devair vayoṇādhaiḥ* (MS. MŚ. *vayu*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*; *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd. of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

ye devā manojātā (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS. *manu*°, ViDh. *manujuṣah*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. BDh. ViDh. ApŚ. Stems *manas* and *manu*.

agnir havyānumanyatām (MŚ. *havyā no man*°) TB. ApŚ. MŚ

pra nu (TA. ApMB. HG. *ṇu*; Kauś. *no* with all mss. but *onv*, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *ṇu*) *vocam cikituṣe janāyur* RV. TA. SMB. Kauś. GG. ApMB. HG. MG.

pra nu vocam (ArŚ. *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasaḥ* (ArŚ. °*se*) RV. ArŚ. *yas te stanah śasayo* (AV.° *yur*) *yo mayobhūḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. AŚ. Equivalent stems, *śasaya*: °*yu*.

yā coditā yā ca noditā (TA. *yā cānuditā*) . . . MS. TA. *na-uditā*: *an-uditā*. *yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

agnaye tvā mahyaṁ . . . āyur (MS. *mayo*) *dātra* . . . VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

rudrāṇām urvyāyām (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

sīdanto vanuṣo yathā RV. SV. LŚ.: *sīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV. See §227. *karma kṛṇvantu* (MŚ. °*to*) *mānuṣāḥ* AV. MŚ. The MŚ. form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[*ato* (TB. *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā* †*nv* (Conc. *no*; TB. *nv*, Poona ed. 'nv, comm. *anu*) *asya* RV. TB.]

7. *ū: o*

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut; but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §84).

abhi tyañ devaṃ savitāram oṇyoḥ (TS. *ūṇyoḥ*) *kavikratum* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. AB. ŚB. AdB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The isolated TS. stem *ūñi* must mean the same as the regular *oñi*.

namo vaḥ pitarah śuśmāya (VS. ŚŚ. *śośāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūśāya*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. Comm. on SMB. *śūśa iti balanāma*.

sañ pūṣā (ApŚ. adds *sañ dhātā*; MS.* *poṣā*) *sañ bṛhaspatih* (KS. *dhātā*) AV. MS. (bis) KS. ApŚ. *poṣā* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of *guṇa* forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣā* is read. Cf. next.

api (PG. *iha*) *pūṣā ni śīdatu* (AV. ŚŚ.* *°ti*) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. PG. HG.: *rāyas poṣo ni śīdatu* ApMB. ApŚ. Cf. prec.; *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

kukūnanānām (KS. *kūtanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

yamasya pātūrah (KSA. *pāto°*) TS. KSA.: *yamyai pātūrah* TS.: *yamyāḥ pātōrah* KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

aṅgoṣṇam (RV. *āṅgūṣāṇām*) *arāvaśanta rāṇih* RV. SV. Cf. §490 and next.

aṅgoṣṇam (RV. *āṅgūṣyañ*) *pavamānam sakḥāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec. *wano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyañ me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

dva jyote (KS. **°tir*) *virasta* (MS. *devajūte virastann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* . . . VS.

§721. The stem *purū*, for *puṣa* in composition, varies with *puro* for *puras*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q. v., and also in: *tañ sakḥāyaḥ purorucam* (SV. *purū°*) RV. SV.

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §718 etc.:

yat kiṁ cāṇṛtam odīma (TA. *ūdīma*) MS. TA.

yad vācāṇṛtam odīma (TB. TA. *ūdīma*) MS. TB. TA.

devatrā haryam ūhiṣe (RV. *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see *RVRep.* 131 f., VV I p. 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous:

amo 'ham asmi sā (AB. *sa*) *tvaṁ* AV. KS. AB. ŚB. BṛhU. JUB. AG. ŚG. Kauś. PG. MG.: *amūham asmi sā tvaṁ* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *sā* (AB. *sa*) *tvaṁ asy amo 'ham* (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*; *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amus*, *amūs?*) and *aham*; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xxvii.

aṅghriṇā viṣṇo (KS. *viṣṇū*, twice; ms. once *viṣṇu*) *mā tvāva* (KS. *vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. See Von Schroeder on KS. 1. 12 and Keith on TS. 1. 1. 12. 1. *viṣṇo*, voc. sing.; *-viṣṇū* in TS. *devatādvandva*, in KS. elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghriṇā* and *agnā* of TS.

tapūṇṣy (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*.

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. Aś. *sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīṇe na pra yaṁsat* RV. SV.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

8. *u*: *au*

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the aorist forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc.)

suślokyāya (ApMB. *sau*°) *svastaye* ApMB. AG. PG. MG.

māham pautram (KBU. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *niyām*, read *nigām*, with SMB.*; SMB. **nigām*, **riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aul*°) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) ApMB.

HG. MG.: *aulūkhalāḥ saṁpravadanti grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.

udbhinnam (ApŚ. *audbhidyam*) *rājñāḥ* MS. ApŚ.

āśīr ṇa (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam uta suprajāstvam* (AV. *sau*°) AV. TS. MS. KS.

KŚ. Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

kumbhīnasah (KSA. *kaum°*) *puṣkarasādo lohitāhis te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS. KSA.

Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the *vriiddhi*; the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun.

vāce krauñcaḥ (VS. *kruñcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Again the two forms are apparently synonyms. In this case the form with *vriiddhi* is commoner, at least in the later language. The origin and primary form of the word are unknown.

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. See §833.

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. Augmented and augmentless forms.

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitar divaḥ* RV. SV. (both in each). As prec.

9. ū: au

§725. Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning *vriiddhi* of secondary derivation:

†aindrāsūrāḥ śyetalalāmās (KSA. *†aindrāsaurāḥ †śyāmālalāmās*) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

pauṣṇo (VSK. *pūṣā*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc. *mahāvīrah*) VS. VSK.

svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā KS.: *svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyaśyann* . . . MS.

dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG. *bhau°*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. PG.

ūrvaiḥ ŚŚ. Vait.: *aurvaiḥ* LŚ. With both sc. *pitṛbhiḥ*.

§726. There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu* (*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language:

nṛbhir dhūtaḥ (SV. *dhautah*) *suto aśvaiḥ* RV. SV.

nṛbhir dhūto (SV. *dhauto*) *vicakṣaṇaḥ* RV. SV.

apsu dhautasya (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dhū°*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

apsu dhūto (SV. *dhautam*) *nṛbhiḥ sutah* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV.

§727. In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment:

praty auhatām (MS. *ūh°*) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmāt*) AV. TS. VS. MS. KS. TAA.

10. o: au

§728. Here again the largest group concerns the *vriiddhi* of secondary derivation:

dyumnī ślokī (KS. *śuklī*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau°*) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

namo mauñjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya . . . GDh : *namo mauñjyāyaur-myāya* . . . Svidh.

yat somyasyāndhaso (ApMB. *sau°*) *bubodhati* RV. ApMB.

iūṣantām somyam (TB. *sau°*) *madhu* VS. MS. TB.

somaindrā (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.
somāpauṣṇāḥ (KSA. *sau*°) *śyāmalalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.
yadi somasyāsi rājñāḥ somāt . . . Kauś.: *yadi saumy asi somāt* . . . AG.

Rvidh.: *yady asi saumī somāya* . . . GG.

caurasyānnaṁ (TAA. BDh. *cor*°) *navāśrāddham* TAA. MahānU. ViDh.
 BDh.

[*tvaṁ rauhiṇaṁ* (AV. misquoted *roh*° in Conc.) *vyāsyāḥ* AV. ŚŚ.]

§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems:

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayaṁ*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māhaṁ*
rāy° *vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

ihaiva staṁ mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB. *yoṣtam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

mā bher mā etc., see §715.

§730. Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf. §722 etc.:

ā no (VS. ŚB. *mā*) *goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS. *auśadhīṣu*; MS. *ośadhīṣu*)
 VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e*:
ai, §709, q. v.:

upayāmam adhareṇapauṣṭhena (TS. °*ṇoṣṭhena*, KSA. *adharoṣṭhena*) VS. TS.
 MS. KSA. See TPr. 10. 14.

saha ojaḥ (VS. *sahaujaḥ*, VSK. *sahojah*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait.
 Adverb *saha* plus *ojaḥ* in VS. VSK., the latter with irregular sandhi; the other texts *sahas* + *ojaḥ*.

ya āviveśoṣadhīr (MS. °*śauśadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV. MS. There is a
 v. l. °*auśadhīr* in AV., which Whitney adopts in the text.

[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS. But several
 mss. and p.p. of MS. *svaup*°, which should probably be read in the
 text. The second part of the cpd. is certainly *opaśa*, and the first
 probably *sra*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*; doubtless this
 was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS.]

§732. Miscellaneous:

asthūri ṇau (*nau*, *no*, *no*) etc., see §950. Dual and plural pronouns *nau*
 and *no* (*nas*).

[*ye ke cobhayādataḥ* (TA. *cuv*°, Poona ed. correctly *co*°) RV. VS. TA.:
ye ca ke cobhayādataḥ AV.]

anupauhvad (ApMB. *anu po 'havad*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayaḥ*)
 HG. ApMB. The ApMB. surely means *po* for *vo*; comm. says *p*
 is 'chāndasa' for *v*; cf. Winternitz, p. xxi. The HG. seems to
 intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure.

devī dvārau (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā sanitāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait. is impossible.

sūryo rūpaṇi kṛṇute dyor (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB.

Only a gen. can be construed here. On *dyauḥ* as abl.-gen. see Wackernagel, III p. 224, *infra*.

yatrādhi sūra uḍito vibhāti (TS. *uḍitau ryeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Others, §63.

mā tvā ni kran pūrvacito (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §399.

imau (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*ṣā*) *ajarau patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °*ṇo*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Nom. dual: gen. sing.

11. 'Saṃprasāraṇa'; *i*(ī): *ya*, *yā*, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §§656 ff. to the phenomena of so-called saṃprasāraṇa as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā*. Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj*: *ij*, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i*: *ya* as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint:

agne yat te tejas tena taṁ prati titigdhi (KS. *tityagdhi*, AV. *taṁ atejasam kṛṇu*) . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhi*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p. 191.

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following:

prapīnam (MŚ. v. 1. °*taṁ*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one.

yatrāsate sukrto yatra te yayuḥ (AV. *ta īyuḥ*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. 'Roots' *yā* and *i*; the latter form here metrically poor.

vikirida (KS. °*ḍa*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word.

agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. *iyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*; possibly for metrical reasons, KS. presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p. 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present.

dhanāni śakro dhanyah (AŚ. *dhanīh*) *surādhāh* TB. AŚ. The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyah* to the monstrous *dhanīh* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanin*?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id*, *īm*, varying with *yad*, *yam*; or the like:

apān payasvad it (KS. *yat*) *payah* RV. KS.: *apān payaso yat payah* AV. TS. TB. MŚ.

gomān id (SV. *yad*) *indra te sakhā* RV. SV.

muṣkāv id (VSK. °*kā id*, LŚ. °*kau yad*) *asyā ejatah* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

mitraṁ na yaṁ (TB. *īm*) *śimyā goṣu gavyarah* (TB. °*vat*) RV. TB.

samyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *saṁ it*, KS.* *sarit*, all mss.) *śravanti sarito* (TAA. °*tā*, Poona ed. °*to*) *na dhenāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.* MŚ.

yadi tvam atra (Vait. *traṁ tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuvettha* LŚ.

iti cid dhi (AV. **yadi cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV. AV. (both).

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i*:

mā dhenur atyāsāriṇī (HG. *atisā*°) HG. ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB.; HG. has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea').

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśerāh TB. ApŚ.: *yajñah pratyasṭhāt* (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ.

toyena jīvān ivaśasarja (TA. text *rya ca sarja*, comm. v. l. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU. The only possible reading in TA. is *vyasasarja*, which is itself anomalous enough; see VV I p. 140.

abhyasikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiśikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. °*bhūvam*) MŚ.

§737. Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in *(y)a*:

agnir grhapatīnām (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah* MŚ.: *sūpasthā dero vānaspatih* TS.

ye 'gnayah puriṣyāh (*puriṣīṇah*), and others, see §907.

antimitraś (TS. *antya*°) *dūre-amitraś* (MS. 'mitraś) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends'; *anti* and adj. *antya*. Weber and Keith follow the comm. on TS. in dividing *anty-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible.

agnīr havyam (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ahāḥ śarīraṇ (TB. *ahāc char*°) *payasā sameti* (TB. °*tya*) TB. Vait. (also AVPPP.) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *sametya*; the 3d sing. *sameti* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasāraṇa'. Cf. VV I p. 164.

kim ite viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. The SV. form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

tāḥ prācyā (°*yaḥ*, *prācīr*) . . ., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection.

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions:

satyam vadanty anu icha (KS. *anu yacha*) *etat* TS. KS. PG. *anu-iṣ* 'seek after': *anu-yam* 'follow'.

yebhīr viśvam (SV. *vy āśvam*) *airayaḥ* RV. SV. *Vy āśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift. Benfey takes *āśva* as a proper name.

anyām icha pītṛsadam vyaktām (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmim icha pītṛsadam nyaktam* (read °*tām*) AV. *vittām* is certainly secondary. Note that in *jāmim*: *anyām* we also have a kind of samprasāraṇa in the final syllable.

acittapājā (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnīt* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Also: *acittamanā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā*, same texts. Here *yu*: *i* vary; cf. the second variant in §736, and next.

bhujuḥ (MS. *bhuji*) *suparṇo yajño gandharvaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *yu*: *i*, cf. prec.

pāhi mā didyoḥ (TS. TB. *mādyā divaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.

ayam yo 'si (MŚ. *yo asya*) *yasya ta idam śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter certainly secondary.

yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

12. Samprasāraṇa: *u(ū)*: *va*, *vā*, and the like.

§739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants; almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences. The most clearly phonetic cases are:

svar (KhG. *sur*) *abhivṛkhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *svar abhivṛkhyam* (MS. MŚ. °*kṣam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ. *sur* is certainly for *svar*; cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'.

kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāḥ MS.: *ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīḥ* AV. Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'.

agnir haryam (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically.

agnir haryāni siṣradat RV.: *agnir haryā suṣūdati* RV.

ayā no yajñam vahāsi KŚ.: *ayasā haryam ūhiṣe* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. And others; see §502. Related roots *vah* and *ūh*.

And similarly in suffixal elements:

vidyullekheva bhāsvarā (MahānU. *bhāsurā*, v. l. *bhāsvarā*) TA. MahānU.

Both these stems are familiar adjectives.

madhūntamānām (VSK. *madhrant*°, MS. *madughānām*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. VSK. ŚB. MS. The VS. form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula. The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam trah karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. So the printed ed. of LŚ.; BR. read *sugantvraḥ* 'leicht gangbar'; but no **gantva* is recorded. The text is evidently very corrupt.

§740. Several times the AV. presents the word *abhiśastipā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastipāvā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*; cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary: *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. *abhūr grṣṭinām* (AV. **vaśānām* in text, mss. *v āpīnām*; HG. *āpīṇām*, ApMB. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB.

rṣiṇām putro abhiśastipāvā (AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB.

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once:

yad vā (RVKh. *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV. RVKh.

§741. The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa* (§§364, 612): *nāvaś curanti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo vṛganti susico na vāṇīḥ* MS. KS.

imam yajñam svadhayā ye yajante (KS. *dadante*) KS. AŚ.: *imam ca yajñam svadhayā dadante* MS.: *ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ. *bhajante*) VS. TS. ŚŚ.

suḡā (TS. ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*, KS. *devās sadanedam astu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. ApŚ. N.

sunīti svayaśastaram (SV. *su°*) RV. SV.

avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś (KS. *su°*) *ca* MS. KS. So the one ms. of KS.; but ed. em. *svagā°*, no doubt rightly; cf. *ava° ca me svagā° ca me*, in Conc.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §119.

priyāṇy aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇṣi (Vait. *aṅgā suktā purūṇi*) TB. Vait. §742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants:

urudrapso viśvarūpa induḥ TS. ApŚ.: *purudasmo viśurūpa* (KS. °*das-mavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Other cases of *viṣu*: *viśva* in §291.

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pitṛṇām somavatām VS.: *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān* ApŚ. *babhru + nikāśa* (*anūkāśa*).

brahmādhiguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhi°*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ* (most mss. *svārarakṣāṇaḥ*) MG. For AG. Stenzler says: 'möge ich Lieder ergiessen'.

asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣv ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso †vatā haveṣu* AV.

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv aj°*) RV. TB.

purutrā te manutām (AV. *vanvatām*, comm. *vanutām*) *viṣṭhitām jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. Sing.: plur.; see VV I p. 266.

indrah (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patiḥ tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ.

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. °*ṣv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §§693, 826.

§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or *vī* is found varying with *u* or *ū*:

vidyutām (PG. MG. *udyatām*) *iva sūryaḥ* ŚŚ. AG. PG. MG.

adyā kṛṇuhi vītaye (SV. °*hy ūtaye*) RV. SV.: *nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. °*hy ūtaye*) RV. SV. The variation may also be considered one between *yū* and *vī* (§805).

achidrām pārayiṣṇum (SMB. °*yīṣṇvīm*) TS. SMB. Fem. acc. of *u* stem. *dr̥śāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Cf. §791, and next variant. The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS.

cakṣur ma urvyā (KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

dhiṣaṇe vīdū (vīdvī) . . ., and others, see §169.

yatrādhi sūra udīto vibhāti (TS. *udītau ryeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasminn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS.: *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitrā* AV. See §63.

13. *aya*: *e* and the like.

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5. 27 ff.; Wackernagel I p. 53 f. It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following; the MS. form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other:

namaḥ kiṇśīlāya ca kṣayaṇāya (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Epithet of land.

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents; but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

arejetām (TB. *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV. TB. Cf. VV I p. 154; a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter.

uttamaṁ nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*; TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

See VV I p. 152. The contracted form of TA. is unmetrical.

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS. TB. The contracted form is again unmetrical. Cf. VV I p. 123.

agnir (also: *vāyur*, *prajāpatir* etc.) *dīkṣitaḥ . . . dīkṣayatu* (JB. *dīkṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. See VV I §160.

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

pibāt somaṁ mamadaḥ (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88.

tasyed (AV. *tasya yad*) *āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre* RV. AV. The AV. expansion is hypermetric; according to Whitney, Ppp. agrees with RV.

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e*(*ai*) and *avi*, *ayi*, *iye*, *iya*, *ū-yā*. For *e*: *ya*, *yā*, see §803:

saṁsṛārabhāgā (VS. ŚB. *saṁsṛava*°; MS. °*gāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96.

TS. p.p. *stha*, *iṣāḥ*; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *stha iṣā* 'ye are great by food'; Kauś., 'by strength'.

tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyaitu (TA. *dhārayitum*) AV. TA. The AV. form intends *kulyā-etu*; TA. suggests *dhāraitu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV. and its secondary reading.

āruroha tve sacā (KS. *trayy api*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā viśa* VS. ŚB.: *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS., and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāḥ*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS.

vi dhūmam agne aruṣaṁ miyedhya (MS. *medhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

TA. *miyedha* and *medha*, both RV., are synonyms; it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them. *agnīr devebhyaḥ suvidatriebhyaḥ* (TA. *suvidatrebhyaḥ*) RV. AV. TA. N.

In the original form °*datriebhyaḥ* stands for °*datriebhyaḥ* (suffix *ya*). *pratiravebhyaḥ* (TA. *pratirebhyaḥ*) *svāhā* MS. TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS.; *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava*. TA. comm. *pratirebhyo bhivṛddhihetubhyaḥ prāṇadevebhyaḥ* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]). *ā yāta* (SMB. GG. ViDh. *eta*) *pitarah somyāsaḥ* (HG. *somyāḥ*) AV. SMB. GG. HG. ViDh. *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms.

Compare the interesting ease *agnim* (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV. SV.; see §843.

14. *ava*: *o* and the like

§748. See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p. 54):

to-to (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency: *yatra yanti srotyās* (KS. *sravyas*) *taj jitaṁ te* AV. TS. MS. KS. The fuller form of KS. improves the meter. RV. knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravanti* = KS. *sravati*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss. of KS. read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*.

sā naḥ priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS.: *sā naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ*

suhār ṇaḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi MS. In TS. the regular fem. of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*; in MS. an *i*-extension of the strong stem.

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. The KS. probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhava(s)*.

anābho mṛḍa dhūrte (read °*ta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. Cf. p. w. 5 Nachträge, s. v. Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last; but the readings are very obscure. Epithets of Rudra. KS. ms. reads *anānbhava*; KapS. *anār°*.

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*;

avamais ta ūrvais te kāvyais te pītṛbhīr . . . bhakṣayāmi PB. LŚ.: *ūmaiḥ pītṛbhīr . . . bhakṣayāmi* AB. ŚŚ. Vait. It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pītṛbhīḥ* so well. We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction. Caland does not translate the word in Vait.

For *o: va, vā*, see §804.

CHAPTER XVI. INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1. EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*; it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49-53; also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or *-riṣ-*, in VV I pp. 189-191. As Wackernagel says (p. 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel; and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp. 190-1, and Wackernagel I p. 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words: *pra ṇa* (MS. *nā*, SV. PB. *na*) *āyūṇṣi tāriṣat* (VS.* TS.* KS.* ŚŚ. N.* *tāriṣaḥ*, Kauś. *tārṣat*) RV. AV. SV. VS.* TS.* MS. KS.* PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.* The Kauś. form is bad metrically.

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ.* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS. *riṣat*, MS. and all mss. of MŚ. *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr. form (to be read also in MŚ.) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

§754. In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms:

apo (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*, AV. *diryā*) *acāriṣam* (JB.† *acārṣam*, AV. *acāyīṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Add to VV I §286a, p. 190. Note that JB. is unmetrical.

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS. MŚ. v. 1. *acārṣam*), VS. TS. MS. KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.

vratānāṁ vratapate (Kauś. °*patayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

§755. The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek *πέλεκυς*. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *suastih*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious:

paraśur (TS. *parśur*) *vediḥ paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tih*) AV. TS.

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*; this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter: to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758. First, between *r* and sibilants: the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c.):

yad rātriyā (MahānU. TA. v. 1. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. 1. *akāriṣam*) TA. MahānU.

diteḥ putrāṇām aditer akārṣam (MS. *akāriṣam*) AV. MS.

tan naḥ parśad (MS. *pariṣad*) *atī dviṣaḥ* TS. MS.

dakṣam te bhadram ābhārṣam (AV. *ta ugram ā bhāriṣam*) RV. AV.

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads *dhūrṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56; likewise delete there the form *dhūruṣāh-*, which is supported by only one ms. in TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; the other mss. all read *dhūrṣāh-*.

ghṛtapratīkaṁ va (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. Bibl. Ind. *dhūruṣadam*)
RV. TB. ApŚ.

§760. There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant; most mss. of MS. (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis *-valiśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valiśā*:

sahasravalśā (MS.* MŚ. v. l. *°valiśā*) *vi vayan ruhema* RV. VS. TS. MS.*
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically.

§761. Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha*: *svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

spārhā (TB. *svāruhā*) *yasya śriyo dr̥še* RV. KS. TB.

spārho (TB. *svāruho*) *deva niyutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB.

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*:

etad brahmān upa valhāmasi (AŚ. *apa°*; LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS. AŚ.
ŚŚ. LŚ.

§763. Likewise one between *h* and *r*:

dahraṁ (v. l. *daharaṁ*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (TA. Poona ed. *vipāpaṁ* [v. l. *vipāpma*] *vara°*; MahānU. *vipāpmaṁ varaṁ* [v. l. *vara-*] *veśma°*) TA. MahānU. Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally *v*:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśivān*) *voce* RV. SV. The inserted *i* in SV. is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV. *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg).

sutaḥ sudakṣa dhanva (SV. *dhaniva*) RV. SV. Read *dhanua* in RV.; the *i* of SV. is to be explained as in the prec.

aśvinā gharmaṁ pātāṁ hārdvānam (TA. *hārddivānam*, read with Poona ed. *hārdi°*) VS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. And others; see §267.

varṣmā (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The *i*-forms of VS. are exceptional. Interesting is the TS. form, which suggests a middle stage **drāghivā* (blend of KS. *drāghvā* and VS. *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*iv*: *uy*).

Here we may also mention the common forms *prthvī* and *prthivī*. In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks *prthivī* (I p. 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e.g. Avestan *parəθwī*):

prthvī (VaradotU. *prthivī*) *suvarcā yuvatiḥ sajoṣāḥ* TB. VaradotU.

§765. Finally, an isolated corruption:

yad asyā anhubhedyāḥ (LŚ. *anuhodbhyāḥ*) AV. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. The LŚ. form is an uninterpretable corruption. The word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

2. WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note; a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prātiśākhya seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr., altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS. and other Tait. texts. In the commentary on TPr. 2. 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear.

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here. Certain broad general tendencies appear; the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv*. Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases. The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait. texts beginning with RV. itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait. texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795). In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait. texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK.) against *prorṇuv*^o of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a). Again, the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait. school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782); nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages. Similarly the adverb *urviyā* (so RV. always) is spelled *urvyā* in TS. (also in VS., §791); and *kwayi* or *°ya* of MS. KS is written *kvayi* in TS. and VS. A Tait. text (TA.) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait. school is otherwise so fond (§770).

§768. Nor is the Tait. school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character. KS. in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryavi*, KS. in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *triyavi* (§776). The RV. itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *svāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*; the SV. in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic. Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait. school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*.

§770. To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v*. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are:

mā tvā ke cin nī (AV. *ke cid tvī*) *yaman vim* (SV. *ke cin nī yemur in*; TA. *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The TA. form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *nī yemur*; so the comm. There is, to be sure, a v. l. *nī yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA.

graha viśvajantīna niyantar (KS. *nyantar*) . . . MS. KS. This and the next passage are prose. KS. can only intend *nī-nyantar*.

anvāsi PB.: *anuvāsi* . . . TS. KS. (not GB. Vait., see §255): *anuvāya* . . . MS. Here PB. can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsuv ā* which is then read *apsu vī* in TS. (§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañc*) is broken up into *nī yan* (thru the middle stage *nīyañ*) in a secondary reading of AV. (§778). Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *apī yī* in SV. (§785), and the RV. *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhuam*) is revamped by TB. into *ab-bhuvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790). Other variants which have lexical bearings are *svāñ*: *svān(a)*, §778; *nv* for *nu* varying

with *'nv* for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uv* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uv* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *īya*, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uv*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uv* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait. texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvar*; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait. school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait. texts (such as KS., from which ApŚ. frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uv* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV. always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV. *suṽāna* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

A. *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV. etc. is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a):

ghṛte śrito ghṛtam v (TA. *uv*) *asya dhōma* RV. VS. TA. AŚ. MŚ.
praty u (TB. *uv*) *adarśy* (TB. *†adṛśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB. ŚŚ. AŚ.
na vā u (TS. TB. ApŚ. *uv*) *etan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV. VS. TS. KSA.
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

sa u (TS. *uv*) *ekaviṃśavartaniḥ* TS. MS. Prose.

§775. The spelling *uv* was regular from RV. times in the word *suṛita* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts: *śarad dhemantaḥ suṛite dadhāta* (MŚ. °*tu*) KS. MŚ.: *śarad varṣāḥ svite* (TS. SMB. *suṛitam*) *no dadhāta* (TS. SMB. *astu*) AV. TS. SMB. The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS. SMB. because of their change to *astu*.

suṛite mā dhāḥ TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. N.: *svite* etc. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. Prose.

§776. The word *tryavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyaṇi* in KS., altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait. texts write this word *tryavi*(!). Two of the variants are prose; the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*:

tryavir (KS. *triyaṇi*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

tryavir (KS. *triya*°) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Prose.

tryaviś (KS. *triya*°) *ca me tryavi* (KS. *triya*°) *ca me* (MŚ. MŚ. omit *me* twice) VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. Prose.

§777. The rest are sporadic:

śutudri stomaniḥ sacatā paruṣṇy (TA. °*ṇiy*) *ā* RV. TA. MahānU. N. In a jagatī stanza; RV. certainly pronounced °*ṇiy-ā*.

asikny (TB. °*niy*) *asy oṣadhe* AV. TB.

dhārāvarā maruto dhr̥ṣṇvojasah (TB. *dhr̥ṣṇuvo*°) RV. AB. KB. TB.

§778. False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:

yad oṣadhīṣv apsv ā (TS. *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsur ā*. As a matter of fact, this may be what TS. really intends; but p.p. divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith.

nyañ (AV. *nī yañ*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS. The AV. has a corruption based upon *nīyañ* for *nyañ*.

svāna bhr̥ājā° . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svān nabhr̥āj* . . . KS.: *svāna bhr̥āj* . . . TA.: *suṇāñ nabhr̥āj* . . . MS. MŚ. In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāc*) is meant.

[*ato no rudrā uta vā †nv asya* RV.: *tato no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed. 'nv, and comm. *anu*) *asya* TB. We assume that the Poona ed. is right, so that the variant does not belong here.]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*.

B. Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *suvar* is practically limited to Tait. texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait. texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ.) from non-Tait. sources, retaining the non-Tait. spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke saṁprorṇvāthām* TS. KSA. TB., the true reading of KSA. is †*svarge loke †saṁprorṇvāthām*; correct Conc.

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete):

pari lokān pari diśaḥ pari svaḥ (TA. MahānU. *suvaḥ*) VS. TA. MahānU. *divi mūrdhānam dadhiṣe svarṣām* (TS. TB. *suṽ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

hiraṇyavāśīr iṣiraḥ svarṣāḥ (TB. *suṽ*) RV. TB.—The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz.:

svarṣām (TB. *suṽ*) *apsām* (TB. Poona ed. twice †*apsvām*, text and comm.) *vrjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB.

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait. text (TB.) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements; if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait. school, TA. and MahānU., write *suvar*:

tapasarsayaḥ (MahānU. *°ṛṣayaḥ*) *suvar* (TB. *svar*) *anvavindan* TB. TA. MahānU.

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*; is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait. text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone; and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait. school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait. tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

pakṣmāṇi godhūmaḥ kṛalair (TB. *kṛalair*) *utāni* VS. MS. KS. TB.

Here, to be sure, the form *kṛalair* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kvala* in the Tait. school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5.—The same word in:

ajo dhūmro na godhūmaiḥ kuvalair (TB. *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. *kiyāmbv atra rohatu* RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA.

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i*.

kwayaḥ (KSA. and p.p. of MS. *°yih*) . . . MS. KSA.: *kvayih* . . . VS. TS.

§783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *saṁdhvānā*, which TS. substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *saṁdhvānā* of other texts. We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *saṁdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*):

saṁdhvānā (TS. *°dhuvānā*) *vātā abhi no grṇantu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word *bhiyaḥ* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending *-bhiyaḥ* (KS., or *-bhiḥ* AV.):

viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. *°ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS.

C. Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in *(i)yañc*, *(i)yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary. It occurs almost exclusively in Tait. texts. The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few *(i)yañc* stems:

asmadryak (TS. *°driyak*) *saṁ mimīhi śravāṁsi* RV. TS. MS. KS.

asmadryag (TS. TB. *°driyag*) *vāvṛdhe vīryāya* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

te pūgavaḥ sadhryañco (TS. *sadhriyañco*) *niṣadya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

mā te mano viṣvadryag (TS. *°driyag*) *vi cārit* RV. TS. MS. KS.

vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (TA. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) *devayānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

vājam arvatsu payo aghnyāsu (TS. *aghniyāsu*) TS. KS.

payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

yad āpo aghnyā (TS. TB. *aghniyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS. TB. MS. KS. LŚ.)

AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *yad āhur aghnyā iti*
VS. ŚB.

nī vīraṇ (TS. *vīravat*) *gavyam aśvyaṇ* (TS. *aśviyaṇ*) *ca rādhaḥ* RV. TS.

MS. KS. Several mss. of MS. *aśviyaṇ*.

sugavyaṇ no vājī sraśvyaṇ (TS. *°viyaṇ*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. AŚ.

parā duṣvapnyaṇ (TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. *°niyaṇ*) *suva* RV. SV. TB.

TA. ApŚ. Kauś. MahānU.

achā devān ūciṣe dhiṣṇyā (TS. *dhiṣṇiyā*) *ye* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sa budhnyā (TS. TB. TA. *budhniyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV. SV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA.

pra budhnyā (TS. *°niyā*) *va īrate* (TS. *īrate vo*) *mahānsi* RV. TS. MS. KS.

AŚ. ŚŚ.

ahin budhnyam (TS. *°niyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (MS. KS. *anv īyamānāḥ*,

TS. *anu saṁcarantīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svāyāṇ tanū (ApMB.†MG.†*tanūn*) *rtviye* (RV.† *rtvye*) *nādhāmānām*

(ApMB. *nātha°*, MG. *bādha°*) RV. ApMB. MG.

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣṇyebhiḥ (TB. *°ṇiyebhiḥ*) *samokāḥ* RV. AB. KB. TB.

taṇ sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni (TB. *vṛṣṇiyāni*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

br̥hat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam (MS. *°ṇam*, see §315; TS. *°ṇiyam*)

TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf. §771):

ya usriyā apyā (SV. *apī yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. *°nī*) RV. SV. The adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apīyā*, is falsely divided in SV.

§786. In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with *īy*; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary noun formations in (ī)*ya* sometimes; the rest are either comparatives in *yaṇs*: *īyaṇs*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in *īy* is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in plain *y* secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary forms without *ī* occurs in TS.!

apo vṛṇānah parate kavīyan (SV.† *°yān*, TS. *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative participles.

turīyāditya (VSK. *turyā°*) *saranam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical, and is twice found in Tait. texts alone:

taṇ tvā gr̥ṇāmi tavasum ataryān (TS. *°vīyān*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. N.

Comparatives.

sanīm gāyatraṁ navyāṅsam (TA. *navīyāṅsam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Comparatives. In the next case the meter is ambiguous:

devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (KS. *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *sviṣṭīm* (°*ṭam*) *no abhi* (°*bhi*) *vasyo* (TS. KŚ. *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KS.

KŚ. MŚ. Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older.

yathā no vasyasas (TS. °*saḥ*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

unnetar vasīyo (KS. *vasyo*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Prose.

pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ (KSA.† 'vārīye°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pārīye*°) TS. KSA. Prose.

§787. The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*: *etāni te aghniye* (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the latter form quasi-meter.

ā pyāyadhvam aghnyā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

yāsyā aputryā (ŚG. °*triyā*) *tanūs* . . . ŚG. SMB.

ahīr asi budhnyāḥ (TS. ApŚ. *budhniyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ahīrbudhnya mantram me pāhi MŚ.: *ahe budhniya mantram me gopāya* TB. ApŚ.

ahīr budhnyo (TS. °*niyo*) *devatā* TS. MS. KS.

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS. °*niyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca* KS.

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS. °*miyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

namo vīdhryāya (MS. °*riyāya*, p.p. °*ryāya*; TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cāta-pyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

namaḥ śīghryāya (TS. °*riyāya*) *ca śībhyāya ca* VS. TS.: *namaḥ śībhyāya ca śīghrāya ca* MS. KS.

sumitrā (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. °*triyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) . . . VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

And similarly *durmitrās* etc., see §315.

aśvibhyān tirohniyānān (MŚ. *tirohnyānān*) . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

tirohniyān (MŚ. *aśvibhyān tirohnyān*) *somān* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

D. Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait. texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *ī* and *ū* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uv* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait. texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uv*. Second, derivative *ī* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vrkīs* type; the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *ī*, *ū*. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī*, *bhū*, and *pū*.

svādhyam (TS. °*dhiyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV. VS. TS. MS.

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayantaḥ* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. PG.

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajī°*) RV. TB.

taṁ tvā vayam sudhyo (TB. *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV. MS. KS. TB.

pāhi mām yajñanyam (TS. TB. °*niyam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

vaneṣu citraṁ vibhvaṁ (TS. *vibhuvam*) *viṣe viṣe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vibhvre (MS. *vibhve*, KS.† *vibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

abhibhvre (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

Prose.

śatam yasya subhvaḥ (SV. *subhuvah*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV.

mahiṣam naḥ subhvaṁ (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*, Barret JAOS. 35. 46

subhuvās) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā*

abhiṣṭayaḥ RV.: *samudraṁ na subhuvās tasthivāṁsam* AV. Others,

see §119.

ghṛteṇa no (MS. KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapraḥ* (TS. °*puvaḥ*) *punantu* RV. AV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. According to Roth, AVPpp. also °*puvaḥ*.

devas tvā savitū punātu vasoḥ pavitreṇa . . . supvā (ApŚ. *supuvā*) VS. ŚB.

ApŚ.: *devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvotpunāmi* Kauś. Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following:

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA. *abbhuvam*) RV. TA. The

pāda occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a

dissyllable in RV. In TA. it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam*

'originating in water', according to the comm.; see §392.

§791. Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type. The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an *ū* stem:

samrājñī śvaśrvām (ApMB. °*ruvām*) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB. On this form cf. Wackernagel III p. 189, l. 1.

asiknyā (TA. °*niyā*) *marudvṛdhe vitastayā* RV. TA. MahānU. N.

sūro rathasya naptyaḥ (ArS. *naptryaḥ*, TB. °*triyāḥ*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB.

ubhayor ārtnyor (TS. °*niyor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS.

devo vamryo (VSK. *vamriyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. Prose.

dr̥ṣāno rukma urvyā (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. This adverb is always spelled *urviyā* in RV.; the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS.; cf. next.

cakṣur ma urvyā (MS. *uruyā*; KS. *urviyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose. Cf. prec.

apīparo mā rātriyā (MŚ. *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *apī° māhno rātriyai* (*rātryai*) etc., same texts.

yad rātriyā (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akārīṣam*) TA. MahānU.: *yad rātriyāt kurute pāpam* TAA. Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form.

rātryai (TB. °*triyai*) *kṛṣṇam piṅgākṣam* VS. TB.

rātryai (TS. *rātriyai*) *tvā* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

rātryai (TA. ApŚ. *rātriyai*) *mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

rātryai (TS. TB. *rātriyai*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB.

viśvapsnyā (TS. °*psniyā*) *viśvatas pari* SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form.

saṁveśāyopaveśāya gāyatryai (TS. ApŚ. °*triyās*) . . . TS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

sa gāyatryā (TS. TB. °*triyā*) *triṣṭubhā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Kauś.

gāyatryai (TS. °*triyai*, MS. KS. °*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mano gāyatryai (TB. ApŚ. °*triyai*) VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

§791a. The following case is peculiar:

viliptī yā (*viliptyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV. (both). In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12. 4. 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical. Whitney would emend *viliptyā* to *viliptī yā*; but this is unnecessary; *viliptyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśniyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *viliptī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'.

§792. Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems. On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoḥ* and *-voḥ* (rather than *-iyoḥ* and *-uvoḥ*) 'durehweg'; the occurrence of the Tait. spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked. As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV.:

indrāgnyor (TS. ApŚ. °*gni*yor) . . . (prose formulas, see Conc.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ayāḍ agnir indrāgnyoś . . . TB.: *ayāḍ indrāgnyoś* . . . MS.

bāhuvoḥ balam TS. TAA.: *bahu bāhvor balam* AV.: *bāhvor balam* Vait. MŚ. PG.

bāhvos (TS. *bāhuvoḥ*) *tava hetayah* VS. TS.: *hetayas tava bāhvoḥ* MS. KS. *patāti didyūn naryasya bāhvoḥ* (TS. *bāhuvoḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

ūrvor (TS. TAA. *ūruvor*) *ojaḥ* AV. TS. TAA. Vait. MŚ. PG.

§793. The stem *tanū* and its type. The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem. accus. sing. *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem. to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV.—The very numerous cases in which *w* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait. texts alone are not listed in full.

nemiṁ taṣṭeva sudrvam (SV. *sudruvam*) RV. SV.

yasyai bahvīs tanuvo vītaprṣṭhāḥ TB.: *yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītaprṣṭhāḥ* MS.

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS. *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuḥ* RV. TS.

tanūs tanvā (TS. TAA. *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV. TS. TAA. PG. Vait.: *tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ. The AV. mss. read °*me sahed antāḥ* or the like; the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl. Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse.

śaṁ tokāya tanuve (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG. Note that PG. has the characteristic spelling of TS. from which it here quotes (there is a v. l. *tanvai*).

tayā nas tanvā (TS. ŚvetU. *tanuvā*) *śaṁtamayā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form.

tanvaṁ (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. *tanuvaṁ*) *me pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. JB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG. ApMB. Prose.

E. Verbal forms.

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous. A large group contains the participle *suvāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV. altho pronounced *svāna*; SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:

pra suvānāso (SV. *svā°*) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. °*deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV.

brhat somo vārḍhe suvāna induh (SV. *svāno adriḥ*) RV. SV.

soma u ṣuṣvāṇaḥ (SV. PB. *ṣvā°*) *sotr̥bhiḥ* RV. SV. PB.

mitrāḥ suvānā (SV. *svānā*) *arepasah* RV. SV.

indre suvānāsa (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

ā soma suvāno (SV. *svāno*) *adribhiḥ* RV. SV.

pari śya suvāno akṣāḥ (to be read *akṣāḥ*, cf. Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc.)

RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV.

pari suvānaś (SV. *svā°*) *cakṣase devamādanaḥ* RV. SV.

pari suvānāsa (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. SV.

pari suvāno (SV. PB. *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāḥ* (to be read °*ṣṭhāḥ*) RV. SV. PB.

suvānā (SV. *svānā*) *devāsa indavaḥ* RV. SV.

suvāno (SV. *svāno*) *arṣa pavitra ā* RV. SV.

suvāno (SV. *svānair*) *yāti kavikratuḥ* RV. SV.

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc.), in defiance of meter:

prati kṣiyantaṁ (TS. *kṣyantaṁ*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantaḥ (TB. °*kṣyantaḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

§796. Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait. texts show *viyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vī*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical. *samidho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) MS. KS. TB.

aktaṁ (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. **arthaṁ*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG. *viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktaṁ* (VSK. *ripto*) *rihāṇāḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. The comms. on both VS. and TS., followed by Keith, take the verb form from *vi* + root *i*.

vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (TB. *viyantu*) VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vyantu (TS. *viyantu*) *devā harīṣo me asya* TS. MS. KS.

vyantu (TS. *viyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janinām* RV. AV. TS. MS. N.

vyantv (TB. *viyantu*) *ājyasya* VS. MS. KS. TB.

uta guā vyantu (TB. *viyantu*) *derapatnīḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

pībantu mudantu (MS. °*tām*) *vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam*) VS. MS. TB.

prati na ūm surabhīṇi vyantu (TS. *viyantu*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

lekah salekah . . . viyantu TS.: *salilah saligah . . . vyantu* MS. KS.

§797. In two prose variants Tait. texts, with VSK., read *pror̥vāthām* for the more regular *pror̥vāt°* (above, §767):

svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām Vait.: *svarge loke prorṇuvāthām* (MS. °tām, VSK. *prorṇvāthām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *suvarge* (KSA.† *svarge*) *loke saṁprorṇuvāthām* (KSA.† °ṇuvā°) TS. KSA. TB.

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vapayā dyāvā° prorṇuvāthām* Kauś.

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *w*. The latter are commoner in most texts:

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait. °hi; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *huvāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

See VV I §2.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1. Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another: *pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. Here mss. of both texts present both readings; and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatīḥ TS.: *asmadrātā* (MS. KS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr* or °*tī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. The TS. is doubtless secondary: 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajah* AA.: *yasyedam oja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

endram vagnunā vahata PB.: *vagnunendram hrayata* TB. ApŚ.

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times:

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. 'yan) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. In MahānU. v. l. *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA. comm. says *nāman* = *paramātman*!

yatheyaṁ strī putram aghaṁ na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīputram aganma rudriyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

adhā jīrvī (AV. *atha jīrvīr*, mss. *jīrvīr*; ApMB. *athā jīrvī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB. See §544.

§802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva JB.:
yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva KS. The
 original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS.,
trir vasubhyo 'vapathās etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is
 correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the
 following *pavasva*.

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS. See §149, and next.
nākro makaraḥ kulīpayas (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-*
rayas) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See
 under prec.

svasti naḥ putrakṛtṣeṣu (MG. *pathyākṛtṣeṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV.
 AB. MG.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhwaro (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS.
 °*dhvaro 'si*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

abaddhaṁ mano darīdram cakṣuḥ sūryo . . . TS. KŚ. BDh.: *adabdhāṁ*
mana īṣiraṁ cakṣuḥ (MŚ. *adabdhāṁ cakṣur ariṣṭaṁ manah*) *sūryo*
 . . . MŚ. ŚG.

gharmaṁ śocantaḥ (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*)
bībhṛataḥ AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

chandonāmānām (VSK. *chandomānānām*, TS. °*mānām*) *sāmṛājyaṁ*
gacheti (VSK. *gachatād iti*, MŚ. *gached iti*) . . . VS. VSK. TS.
 ŚB. MŚ.

jari cetīd (mss. *ceṭid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS.: *ya* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB.
yad) *ṛte* (PB. †*yakṣate*) *cid abhiśiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ.
 ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB. See §193.

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV.: *yo no drevṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ.:
yo no drevṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syl-
 lables *nu-ta*.

apa snehītīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛma-*
ṇām adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām* (Poona
 ed. *snuhi taṁ nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110. The KS.
 reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*.

agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ (TB. *mā*, MŚ. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. The
 MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary
 to RV.

śam te kiranyaṁ śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś.
 ApMB. See §277.

brahmādhiḡguptaḥ (PG. *brahmābhu*°, MG. *brahmābhīḡgūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi*

(PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svarārakṣāṇaḥ*)

AG. PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV. *†rohanti tejasā*)

RV. SV. With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57.

vājaś ca prasavaś . . . vasuś (TS. *suvaś*) *ca . . .* TS. KS. The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *sva*).

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These eases are related to §§747 and 748ff. above, q.v. The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*:

arthaś ca ma emaś (VSK. *me yāmaś*; MS. *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ. *vr̥ṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarridam* MS. KS. ApŚ. *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *asunūtim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV.

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV. TA. *yātu*) *śeṣaḥ* (TA. *śeṣam*) RV. AV. TA.

itīdaṁ viśvaṁ bhuvanaṁ sam eti (AV. *vi yāti*) RV. AV. N. Synonymous and related roots *i* and *yā*.

ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive (VS. *°ṣṭhīve*, TS. *ahorātrayor vr̥ṣṭyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. See §840.

iyam pītryā (AB. *vai pītre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pītre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *agre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

tvayāyam vṛtraṁ vadhyāt (VSK. *ba°*, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. VV I §175, and next.

ā mā stutasya ślutaṁ gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya ślotaṁ gamyāt* PB. See prec.

vanaspatīṅr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (*rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both)

ghṛtam eva (BDh. *ghṛtaṁ yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh. ViDh.

§804. Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*:

sāmāni cakrus tasarāṇy otave (AV. *°ṇi rātave*) RV. AV.

vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. *°kośā°*) TS. TA.

sam eta viśvā (AV. *†viśve*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patiṁ divaḥ* AV. SV. Roth quotes Ppp. as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā*. See §52.

pari ghraṇsam omanā (TB. *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Bad corruption in TB.

§804a. A special ease of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoḥ*: *madhvaḥ*. While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here:

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *paranta ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavasva dhūrayā* RV. SV.

madhoḥ pibātam āsrinā VS. MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ.: *madhvaḥ* etc. RV. VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

madhvaḥ (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryaḥ* RV. SV. AV. MS.

madhoś cakānaś cārur madāya AV. SV.: *madhvaś* etc. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vasvaḥ (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoḥ*) *kuvid vanāti naḥ* RV. KS. TB. TA. MahānU.

§805. Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*:

achā ma (SV. *va*) *indram matayaḥ svarridaḥ* (SV. *svaryuwaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. GB. Vait.

adyā (also *nrvat*) *kṛṇuhi vītaye* (SV. °hy ūtaye) RV. SV. Cf. §743.

āvitsi (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

nādyā śatruṁ nanu (ŚB. †na nu) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB.

vivalaṁ (MS. KS. *ywalaṁ*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā te vyoma (= *viyoma* or *rioma*; AV. *yuyoma*) *saṁdrśi* (AV. °śaḥ, LŚ.† °śaḥ or °še) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG.

yajñāṁ prañaya (TS. *pra suva*) *devāryam* (TS. MS. *devāyuvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS. *devāryam*) *prñacmi* etc. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

devebhyas tvā devāryam (VSK. *devāyuvam*) *grhṇāmi* etc. VS. VSK. ŚB.

prāsmāñ ava prtanāsu pra vikṣu (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB.

ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhṇāmi KS.: *ukthyebhya ukthiyāyuvam* ApŚ.

varṣmā (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §764. TS. apparently has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*.

§806. With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff. In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as *guṇa* derivatives of a root in *r*:

tena rādhyāsam VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *tenardhyāsam* KS. SMB. The latter stands for *tena ṛdh°*; cf. §659.

agnau saṁrādhanīm yaje HG.: *yaje saṁrādhanīm aham* ŚB. BrhU.

AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yujē* (read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt p. 250) *†samardham im aham* ŚŚ.

ahā avartim (AV. *arātim*) *avidat* (AV. °daḥ) *syonam* AV. TB. ApMB.

2. Haplogy

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16. xxxiv, *AJP* 17. 418; Wackernagel 1 pp. 278ff., where further references may be found; we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV. 4. 5. 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplology; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable.

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplology: *pr̥thivi vibhūvari* (ApŚ. *bhūvari*) . . . KS. ApŚ. This is a very clear case.

On the strength of the isolated ApŚ. form Boehtlingk (pw. 6. 304) set up a goddess Bhūvarī, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *pr̥thivi*.

viśvasyām̐ viśi pravivīśivāṅsam (KS. †*pravivīśānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS.: *viśo-viśaḥ pravivīśivāṅsam īmahe* AV. Lanman, in Whitney's Transl., has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplology. But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also.

ya āste yaś ca carati (AV. *yaś carati*) RV. AV. The haplology is again noted by Lanman.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The ms. of Ppp. *padānihatā guhās-*, em. Barret JAOS 30. 195 to the AVŚ. reading. Clear haplology in TA. MahānU.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano ('*śīrtatano*, '*śītama*) *pāhi* . . ., see §353.

yāni kāni ca cakṛma (ApŚ. mss. omit *ca*, by haplology) MS. ApŚ.: cf. *duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. (here not really haplology; *ca* is needed only after *kāni*).

ye vā (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīṅr anu* (MS. NīlarU. °*patīuām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplogical. In the same verse:

ye vāvaṇṣu (MS.†KS. *ye 'vaṇṣu*) *śerate*, same texts. Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṇṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplogical.

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (MS. *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: cf. *eṣā tc agne samit tayā* (MŚ. *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. ApG. HG. The second *ca* is clearly required.

yad eva kin̐ ca pratijagrahāham (TA. °*jagrāham*) AV. TA. The TA. form (also found in Poona ed.) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplogical.

nyag vāto 'va vāti (AV. *vāto vāti*) RV. AV. Lanman notes the haplology. *yūyātām̐ ito rapo apa sridhaḥ* RV.: *yūyātām̐ asmad rapo apa sridhaḥ* TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long ū.

añhomuce pra bharemā (AV. *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 253.

anādhr̥ṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhr̥ṣṭā apasyuvo vasānāḥ* TS. See Keith on TS.

chandonāmānām (VSK. °*mānānām*, TS. °*mānām*) *sāmrājyaṁ gacheti* (with variants) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK. see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip.

yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. The latter corrupt.

guhā hitām nihitām (KS.† omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.

namaḥ śanigave (TS.† *śanīgāya*, for °*gayāya*?) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. See §250.

yasyedam ā rajo yujaḥ AV. ArŚ.: *yasyedam ā rajaḥ* AA. Others, see §244.

viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS. °*nā vi*°) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV.

parīdam vājy ajinam (PG. °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. The PG. is not construable. [*yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo* . . . KS. ApŚ. Conc. quotes ApŚ. as omitting the second *yo*; a modern haplology!]

§809. The following cases are less certain:

mama ca nāma tava ca (KS. once omits *ca*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. (both). The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*).

puru viśvāni jūrvan RV.: *puro rakṣāṁsi nijūrvan* AV. (Ppp. *viśvāni-jūrvan*.) Whitney suggests *viśvā nijūrvan* for RV.; Lanman, *viśvāni ni*°, assuming haplology. As Oldenberg (*Noten* on 1. 191. 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda; he would read *jūruan*.

suvān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre . . . MS.: *svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre* . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrāt, aṅghārīr bambhārīḥ* TA.: *svān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre* . . . KS. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 7. 1; he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original.

3. Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation:

kukūnanānām (KS. *kūtanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Note double dittology in VS. ŚB.

namo babhluṣāya vyādhine (TS. *virvā°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Either form makes good sense; we assume that the majority have the original. *athem enaṁ pra hiṇutāt pīṭrbhyaḥ* (AV. †*pīṭr̥n̄r̥ upa*); and:

athem enaṁ (AV. *athemam enaṁ*) *pari dattāt pīṭrbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA.

See Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18. 2. 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18. 2. 4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads *athem enaṁ* with the comm.

devā (AV. *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV. AV. The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42. 127) also omits *vā(i)*.

namo giriśāya (VS. *°śayāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The stems *-śa* and *-śāya* are both unexceptionable; probably the majority indicate the original.

na sīm adeva āpat (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable. SV. tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p. 138.

nirṛtiṁ nirjarjalpena (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nir-jālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from *jalp*.

ye te agna (MS. *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayaḥ* (TA. *urṇunābhayaḥ*, but Poona ed. *u nā°* with v. l. *urṇunā°*) MS. KS. TA. The absurd corruption of some TA. mss. seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrṇanābhi* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here.

añhaspatyāya (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *añhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

rtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB. *apasas*) *pari* RV. GB. If GB. is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV. *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāḥ*). But Gastra reads *apas*, with v. l. *apasas*.

tanūpās (TB. Poona ed. text and comm. *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. See §195.

trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV. Svidh. *°hrire*) RV. SV. Svidh. See VV I p. 170.

vr̥ṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye (RV.* *aryaye*) RV. (both) SV. TA. MahānU. N. Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *arya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are triṣṭubh and jagatī forms of the same expression. But the latter occurs in a verse

(9. 86. 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep.* 453), so that *avye* is probably original.

ājīm na gīrvāvāho jīgyur āsvāḥ SV.: *ājīm na jagmur gīrvāho āsvāḥ* RV. For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV. the original. Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 24. 6. The SV. form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely.

§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following:

nīdhedhāsi . . . puruṣpārhaṇi (so KS. and TB. Poona ed., and p.p. of MS.; MS. text *puruṣaspārhaṇi*) *yaśasvat* MS. KS.† TB.†.

tato vākā (TS. *tataḥ pāvakā*) *āśiṣa no juṣantām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers'; TS. spoils the meter. Dittology with *p* for *v*.

tena yo 'smat (TA.* *tenānya 'smat*) *saṃr̥chātai* (MS. mss. *saṃr̥tsātām*) MS. TA. The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA. repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change; the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc.

indrāpāsya (v. l. *°yāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephamaḥ* HG. Kiste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'.

4. Haplogy or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplogy or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*:

āyur br̥hat tad āśiya tan māvatu (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.

tan mām āvīt TA. TU.: *tan māvīt* MG.

tan māvatu PB. TA. TU. ApŚ.: *tan mām avatu* MŚ. AG. MG.

punar mām aiv (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maiv*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. Br̥hU.

ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. MG.

§813. Other, miscellaneous cases:

vājajityāyai (KS. *°jityai*) *tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Stems *jityā* and *jiti*. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS. is probably on the whole the most original YV. text; only two other schools differ from it; and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*.

śīśirāya vikakarān (KSA. † *vikarān*, ApŚ. *vikārān*, vv. ll. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird). Cf. the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA. † *kakārān*).

aneśann asya yā iṣavaḥ (TS. KS. NilarU. *asyeṣavaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference; and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other.

bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṅca (MŚ. *uddhareṃ vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §236, end. Either haplogy in TB. ApŚ., or dittology in MŚ. which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*.

anu no mārṣṭu (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣṭu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (*vili*^o) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1. A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable:

jagāma sūro adhvano vimadhyam (AV. *vi madhyam*) RV. AV. Whitney rightly says that the AV. reading is a corruption of the other.

oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām (TA. *°kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. The VS. reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

yatheyaṁ strī pautram agham na rodāt SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca MS.: *ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ* TA. MahānU. Preceded by *aghorabhyo 'tha ghorebhyah*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS. has two accents; but MS. p.p. takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA. has two accents; yet its comm. understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed. prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm. on MahānU., however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

manasaspata imañ deva yajñam (KS. *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13. 3, 4. 44. 3, have *deveṣu yajñam*, which supports KS. in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS., but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.).

vācaspace 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvrdham (ŚŚ. *devā vrdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

§817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose:

yajur yuktam (TA.† *yajuryuktam*) *sāmabhir āktakham tvā* (MS. *ṛkta-khanṭā*) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the *yajus*'. In MS. two accents: 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

madhu śaṣpair (MS. *madhuśaṣpair*) *na teja indriyam* VS. MS. TB. In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheṣajam*, or *śaṣpair*. MS. p.p. divides *madhu śaṣpair* as two words; Poona ed. of TB. prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

madhu havir (MS. *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MŚ. must be read *madhuhavir* like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf. prec.

devabarhiḥ (KS. *deva barhiś*) *śatavalśam vi roha* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS. *tram barhiḥ śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

avīvarata vo hi kam (TS. *hikam*; so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.

upa prakṣe (AA. ŚŚ. *upaparakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantaḥ* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 285 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints *ūpa prakṣé* with most mss., but against comm., who understands *upaparakṣe* as a prepositional cpd., 'near the *prakṣa*'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) *upaparakṣé*, RV. 5. 47. 6.

namas te rudra rūpebhyo namaḥ MS.: *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA. MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage': 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'.

śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (TS. °*habheṣajī*, VS. °*hā bhe*°; MS. °*ha* [p.p., °*hā*] *bheṣajā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not.

devīḥ (AV. *daivīḥ*, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr* (TS. p.p. *ṣaḍurvīḥ*; and so Conc. assumes for ApMB. HG.) *uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, KS.† *ṇas*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB. HG. The words are voc. and there are no accents. RV. and AV. p.p. interpret as two words, which seems more natural. No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait. school separate *ṣaḍ urvīr*.

deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §147, and §838. MS. p.p. divides *deva* from *punaś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*).

imāṁ su nāvam āruham TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sunāvam ā ruheyam* VS. (pratika PG.)

pra su (HG. *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *sumartyaṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. HG. The reading of ApMB. is original.

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. Read *apa śveta padā* in MG.; there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text. See his note and comm., and our §134.

2. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form. Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts:

stomatrayastrīṁśe bhuvanasya patnī TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastrīṁśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS. The latter corruptly turns the vocs. into nouns, apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender.

vānmanaścakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūtisaṁkalpā (TA. TAA. °*ākūtīḥ saṁkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. See §383. *śarīraṁ yajñāśamalam* (MahānU. *yajñāḥ śa*°) *kusīdam tasmin sūdatu yo 'smān dveṣṭi* TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. The latter is clearly second-

ary; comm. makes *śarīraṁ yajñāḥ* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body'. On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS.

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG. *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG. The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow'; but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression.

tām vidyām brahmayoniṁ svarūpām (VaradapU. *brahmayonisva°*) NṛpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman'; either is possible.

adhr̥ṣṭam dhr̥ṣṇvojasam (SV. *dhr̥ṣṇum ojasū*) RV. AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.

mithucarantam (KS. *mithū°*, TS. *mithuś car°*, AV. *mithuyā car°*) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original.

agner (TS. *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS. *agnīyāny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*. Cf. *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §357.

devajūte vivasvān āditya te no devāḥ . . . MS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūti te na ādityā . . .* TS.: *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā . . .* KS. Both parts of the cpd. are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

syonā māviśateraṁmadah (TS. *°terā madah*) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a lect. fac. for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Iran̥mada (Agni, lightning?)'.

ṛtaprajātā (MŚ. *uta pra°*) *bhaga id raḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. The latter is secondary but intelligible; §641.

sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāt (LŚ. *eva ki°*, VS. *devakīl°*) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.: *viśvasmād deva°* AV. MS. The LŚ. is secondary but sensible; §402.

[*†aindrāsūrāḥ* (KSA. *†aindrāsaurāḥ*) *śyetalalāmūs* (KSA.† *śyāmala°*) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes KSA. as *aindrāḥ saurāḥ*.]

[*anyavratasya* (TA. *anyádvrā°*, printed by Conc. as *anyad vra°*; the accent proves that it is a cpd., tho the comm. seems to take it as two words) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimaḥ*, Poona ed. *°ma*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.]

§819. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original:

svāhā yajñam manasaḥ (KS. 2. 3 *yajñamanasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. †2. 3 and

23. 5, ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood; the accus. *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2. 3 should be so corrected. In 23. 5 KS. has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc.). '(I take) sacrifice from mind.'

māgadhaḥ puñscalī kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrahmaṇās (VSK. *puñscalī klīvaḥ kitavo 'śūdrābrahmaṇās*) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK.

śatakṣaraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ.: *śatakṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. In Kauś. v. 1. *śatakṣarah*. The original reading of ApŚ. (cf. §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sruvo* preceding; with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*.

dahraṁ (v. 1. *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU. *vipāpman varan veśma°*) TA. MahānU. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *vipāpman vara°*, with v. 1. *vipāpmavara°*. MahānU. also has v. 1. *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahraṁ vipāpman varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vipāpmavara°*, an awkward compound.

dadhad ratnam (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitrbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dakṣapit°*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūñṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ. separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc. *indrah pāśena tsiktvā vaḥ* (HG. *pāśena vaḥ tsiktvā*) ApMB. HG.: *indrapāśena siltvā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG. *aśloṇā* (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA. *ṇāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA. *ahrūtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1. *°tā*) *svarge* AV. TA. 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPpp. agrees with TA., but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp.; meter indicates that the other version is original.

rudra yat te krayī (VS. KS. *krivī*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

yasya (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* (ŚG. *patireto*) *grhāṇa* (ŚG. *grbhāya*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one.

ṣaḍ id yamā (TA. *ṣaḍ udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā iti* RV. AV. TA. N. Apparently TA. must understand *udyamā* as an adjective.

3. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form; sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word:

vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ. *vr̥ṣṭiṁ devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ.

The original of MS. KS. means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding'; the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ. by a lect. fac. the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV.: *paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains': 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances).' But KŚ. may intend a compound.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB.: *indraḥ sūraḥ prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm. on TB. takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms. sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a *devatā* dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ. has a lect. fac.

bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣaṇi (ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣaṇi puṣa*) MS. ApŚ. 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

agne tvāṁkāmāyā (SV. *tvāṁ kāmāye*) *girā* RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect. fac. SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next: 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

revati predhā . . . , revati yajamāne priyaṁ dhā . . . , revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata, see §747.

āre śatrūn (AV. † *āreśatruṁ*) *kṛṇuhi sarvavīraḥ* (AV. °*ram*) AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original: 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect. fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

ugraṁpaśyā (MS. *ugrāṁ paśyā'c*; TB. *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TB. TA.: *ugraṁpaśye ugrajitau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS. is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

ugraṁpaśye (MS. *ugrāṁ paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TA. Cf. prec.

āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd. *āsann-iṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV. means: 'carrying water in their mouths'.

mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB.: *mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ* (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG. The original is *virājaḥ*, gen. of *virāj*.

[*subhagaṅkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhāgaṅ karaṇaṁ mama* SMB. But Jørgensen properly prints SMB. *subhāgaṅkaraṇaṁ*, as one word.]

§821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original:

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi SV. JB.: *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS. In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS.). The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives.

pari ghraṇsam omanā (TB. *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Hopeless corruption in TB. See §828.

agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam AŚ. ApŚ.: *agnihotraṁ pṛthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ. The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda*: *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma*.

pari doṣād udarpithaḥ KŚ.: *parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. See §63.

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §§209, 260; MS. has a gross corruption.

sahasradhāraṁ vṛṣabhaṁ divo duhuḥ (SV. *divoduham*) RV. SV. Verb form in RV.: 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked'. SV.: 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'.

uror ā no (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāvṇo*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

4. Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'); or the reverse. The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841–850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater; there is no hard and fast line between them.

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question:

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāni (AV. *ṛṇaṁ naḥ*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattāṇṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛṇāni*). Either the plur. *ṛṇāni*, or the sing. *ṛṇaṁ* with the pronoun *naḥ*, is quite satisfactory.

vratāni (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. *adābhyah*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. In MS. etc. the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*; in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB. *yono vām hārasīh*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms incomprehensible.

§824. In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV. 4. 20. 9b (also in KS., where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvaḥ*; read *muḥukā* with Ludwig and Conc., cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* ad loc.

jāmīṇ (KS. *ṭcamī*) *mā hiṇsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmīṇ moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. Acc. to AV. comm. the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed; *amuyā* is adverbial. The MŚ. variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmīṇ*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees.

gaurīr (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

dhruvāsaḥ (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

stavāno (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. Altho the MŚ. reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect. fac. TA. accents wrongly *vṛdhā'naḥ*, and its comm. takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāḥ*)! Cf. §821.

yo rayivo (SV. *rayīm vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. VHDh. Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayīm* as accus. of specification.

ṛṣīṇām putro abhiśastipārā (TB. *°pā ayam*, AV. *°pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB. See §740.

bhavā kṛṣṭīnām (AV. *gr°*) *abhiśastipārā* (AV. *°pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See prec.

abhūr grṣṭīnām (ApMB. *āpīnām*, HG. *āpīṇām*, AV. mss. **v āpīnām*, em. wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhiśastipārā* (AV. *°pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. See prec. but one.

ya usriyā apyā (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. °nī) RV. SV. See §785.

SV. misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'.
achāyam eli (KS. °yam yanti) *śarasā ghṛtena* (AV. *ghṛtā cit*, KS. *ghṛtācīh*)
 AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading looks secondary to that
 of KS., which has an adjective agreeing with *srucaḥ*, the subject of
yanti; *ghṛtā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eli*,
 whose subject is Agni.

divaś cid antād (RV. *antān*) *upamām* (RV. °mān; TA. *upa mām*, so AV.
 v. 1. adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaṭ* RV. SV. AV. TA.
 While RV. is of course original, the AV. TA. reading is not bad:
 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me'. This
 should doubtless be read in SV.

te brahmalokeṣu (TA. °loke tu) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.
 KaivU.

viprasya dhārayā kavīh RV.: *viprah sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. See §189.

somaḥ sutasya madhvaḥ RV.: *somaḥ sutaḥ sa madhumān* SV. See §189.

na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*; others all *śvetasyā-*)

AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in
 AG.; see §188.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udīthaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(h)sthūṇam*
 (°nāv) *uditā* (°tau) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §188.

ūrvān gavyān pariṣadanto agman RV. KS.: *urvīm gavyām pariṣadam*
no akran AV.

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*
karaḥ karasyuḥ LŚ. See §739.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. *†nṛma-*
ṇām adadhrām) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi tam nṛmṇām athadrām*
 (Poona ed. varies) TA.

saṁ takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ (HG. *cakriṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Very obscure
 passage; HG. seems to approach closer to a sensible reading.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūṇām* (°nāv, °ṇā) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*)
 AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā*
iva'; yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte ava*. In any
 case MG. is secondary.

svarvaj (AV. *svar yaj*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV.

grāmyamañkīradāśakau ApŚ.: *grāmyān mañgīradāśakau* MS.: *vyāgh-*
raṁ mañgīradāśa gauḥ Vait. See §49.

§825. In verbal endings (cf. §827):

svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (MG. *dadhātu naḥ*) RV. KS. AB. MG.
 See VV I p. 281.

pra su (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṇi* (SMB. *sumartyaṇi*, MG. *prathamam artini*)
yuyotana (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

viśvaṇ tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā . . . PrāṇāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca* . . .
 MU. Read *viśantu*; see §371.

kriyanta (TB. *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhiḥ sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

dairvā (AV. *°vā*) *hotāro* (TS. *°rā*, AV. *°raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani°*, KS.
†vaniṣan na, AV. *saniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.
vasūni cārur (*cārye*, *cāryo*, *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhrjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*)
jīvan AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Cf. VV I p. 96.

jātavedo nayā hy (read *nayāsy?*) *enam sukṛtām yatra lokah* JB.: *jātavedo*
vahemaṇi (ŚŚ. *vahasvainaṇi*) *sukṛtām* . . . TA. ŚŚ.

§826. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older; a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:

samudreṇa (and *°dre na*) *sindharo yādamānāḥ* RV. (both). Read *samudre na* in both; Bloomfield, *JAOS* 27. 77 ff., *RVRep.* 197; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 36. 7.

twiṣim indre na (MS. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Bathos in either case; but MS. p.p. *indre, na*. VS. comm. says that *na* means *ca*! *spardhante dhiyaḥ* (*divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. Change to instr. in TS. KSA. because this is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*.

neva māṇse na pībasi AV.: *naiva māṇsena pīvari* PG.: *na māṇseṣu na snāvasu* ApMB. Perhaps PG. should be divided *māṇse na*; at least this is the original reading.

saṁsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *saṁsraṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS. 'This Indra the joiner of battle': 'Indra in the joined battles'.

trīṇi padāni (*padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc. ending *-su*.

māteva putraṁ bibhṛtā sv (VS. ŚB. *°tāpsv*) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to waters; hence the secondary reading *apsu*.

idam ahaṁ rakṣo 'bhi (MS. **rakṣobhiḥ*) *saṁ ūhāmi* (TS. *saṁ dahāmi*) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. See §383.

āvat tam (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. and Poona ed. text *āvartam*) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA. The sole ms. of KS. also reads *āvartam* (ed. emends). TA. comm. interprets as a gerund (*āvṛtya*).

samid diśām āśayā naḥ (MS. *āśāyānaḥ*) *svarvit* (TS. *suvar°*) TS. MS.

KS. AŚ. ApŚ. Both accent and sense show that no pres. mid. pple. (masc.) can be intended, altho MS. p.p. does not divide the word.

yajā no (MS. *yājāno*) *devo* (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *devān*) *ajarah* *suwīrah* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *bhavā no dūto ajarah* *suwīrah* ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf. pree.) the accent shows that MS. p.p. is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable.

vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah RV.: *vi cid aśnān iṣayo arātayah* SV. Benfey renders SV. 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple. in passive sense). It is a Verballhornung; the orig. itself is rather obscure; *vi-naś* is peculiarly used.

yato bhayaṁ abhayaṁ tan (KS. 35. 1c †*abhayatraṁ*) *no astu* (AV. ed. *asti*, misprint) AV. KS.* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me (TB. *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. Kauś. *viṣṇūvaruṇā* (TB. °*ṇāv*) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °*pā vām*) MS. TB. Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā ghr̥tena*. 'O V. and V., let the 'gods' (TB. comm. *ṛtviṣaḥ*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc. The variant form must be dual, and as MS. can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem °*pāva*, or irregularly from °*pāran*), we assume that TB. is orig.

brhaspataye (MŚ. °*pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS. *mahi śad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. MŚ. Comm. on AV. agrees with TS., which has the correct reading; see §392.

dātuṁ cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.: *dātuṁ cec chaknūvānsāḥ* (so, with double accent, Cale. ed.) *svarga eṣām* TA. For the latter read *chaknāvān* (or better °*rān*) *sá* with Poona ed.; see VV I p. 165.

purastāt (AB. *puras trā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. See §365.

sumitraḥ soma no (Kauś. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś.

stomo yajñas ca (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo hariṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB. See §188.

arepasah (ApŚ. adds *samokasah*) . . . *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

tvas cid viśvam ṛarṇavat tapasvān AV.: *duras ca viśvā avrṇod apa svāḥ* RV.

tam id arbhc haviṣy ā samānam it RV.: *trām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

anupūrvān yatamānū yatī śtha (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭha*) RV. AV. TA. See §86.

agne vitatam antor ā (LŚ. *antaram*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ. VHDh. Assimilation in LŚ. to *vitatam*.

ā no yāhi (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS. *jāniṣva*, ŚŚ. *janeṣv ā*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The accent proves MS. wrong; it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*.

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādataḥ AV.: *yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. In AV. complementary sing. after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ. 43. 110 ff.). See VV I p. 270 f.

§827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf. §825): *sruṇā juhuta no* (ŚŚ. *juhutanā*) *haviḥ* TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N. Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB.

yathēyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

āprṇo 'si saṁprṇaḥ (ApŚ. *āprṇoṣi saṁprṇa*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter inferior.

ramadhvaṁ mā bibhīta mat (Kauś. *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś.

pratno hi (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam īḍyo adhvaṇeṣu* RV. AV. TA. See §299.

5. First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa. In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary:

śūro nṛṣātā śavasas (SV. MS. *śra°*) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca ṭkāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS. Assimilation in SV. to the preceding loc. *nṛṣātā*: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'.

vasavaś cātiṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV.: *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. The bad meter and feeble sense of AV. show that it is a corruption of the other; moreover Ppp. agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42. 108).

śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'. *nadayor vivratayoḥ śūra indraḥ* RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indraḥ* SV. The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV. seem to be Indra's horses; lect. fac. in SV.

asūrte (MS. KS. *°tā*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. *°tā*; KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle; it is of course secondary.

aryo naśanta (SV. *naḥ santu*) *sanīśanta* (SV. *†°tu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.

Again a lect. fac. in SV. (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured . . . be our foes').

ūrjan̄ bibhrad vasuvanīh (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ. **vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ. **vaḥ suvanīh*, ApŚ. **vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. (thrice) ŚG. HG. See §227.

ailabrdā (MS. °*mṛdā*, KS. *aiḍamṛdā*) *yavyudhaḥ* (VS. *āyuryudhaḥ*, MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. See §241.

pari ghraṇsam omanā (TB. *parighraṇsa vāṁ manā*) *vāṁ vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original: 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength'. Corruption in TB.

dame-dame suṣṭutyā (TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tir*) *vāṛdhānā* (AV. °*ṇau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iṣyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

amanmahīd anāśavaḥ (PB. °*hūt tad āśavaḥ*) RV. AV. PB.

brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanuṣṇātā (MahānU. *hy anu*°) TA. MahānU.

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

tilvilā (misprinted *tilvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG.: *tilvilā sthājirāvatī* ŚG.: *tilvalā sthīrāvatī* MG.: *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB. A desperate passage; all forms corrupt. Oldenberg (on ŚG., p. 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original. In ApMB. a mistaken rationalization; a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address.

[*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. Conc. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *satrācā*.]

§829. In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original: *adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ samāna* (MS. *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*; p.p. *sah, hyaḥ, sam, āna*) RV. AV. SV. MS. TA. N. The MS. makes no sense, and its p.p. gives the true reading.

yas tā vijānāt (TA.* MahānU. *yas tad veda*, AV.* VS. *yas tāni veda*) *sa pituṣ* (VS. MahānU. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituh*) *pitāsai* RV. AV. VS. TA. MahānU. N. See §198.

sa dahan (GB. *sadanān*) *pradahan nv* (GB. *v*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. One ms. of Vait. has the same absurd reading as GB.

sā prasūr (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. *garbhe* (MS. °*bhaḥ*) *sañ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. MS. *sañ*°) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But it is likely that MS. KS. really intend *san* (so MS. p.p.).

sa eva jātah (TA. MahānU. *sa vijāyamānaḥ*) *sa janīṣyamāṇaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (SV. *udā*°) RV. SV. See §60.

agne yāhi dūtyan̄ mā riṣanyah (TB. °*yaṁ vāriṣanyah*) RV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §225.

tan mā jinva TS. MS.: *tan mārjitvā* KS. See §354. KS. probably secondary.

amun̄ ma iṣāṇa, and: *sarvalokaṇ̄ ma iṣāṇa* VS.: *amun̄ maniṣāṇa*, and: *sarvaṇ̄ maniṣāṇa* TA. The form *iṣāṇa* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchatī*: 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)', ... 'every world'. TA. has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*!), as if from the aorist of root *man*; comm. *prayaccha*.

ā samudrā (KS. *ā sīm ugrā*, TS. ApŚ. *āsminn ugrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS. seems clearly secondary.

apān̄ na yanty (SV. *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV. 'Like streams of water go (the somas)': '(the somas) lead on the waters'.

upākṛtaṇ̄ śaśamānaṇ̄ yad asthāt (MŚ. *sadhashthāt*, v. 1. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. MŚ. MŚ. If *sadhashthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*.

pariṣītaḥ kṛṣyasi ApMB.: *pariṣīdaḥ kleṣyasi* HG. The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *kliṣ* (thinking of *kliṣ*).

6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once. That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

ava (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ* [text *vaḥ* preceded by *haviṣā*], VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṇ̄ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛśāmasi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

sanvan (KŚ. *sa traṇ̄*) *sanin̄ suvimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The secondary KŚ. reading may be graphic.

yamasya dūtaḥ śrapād vidhāvasi TA.: *yamasya dūtaḥ ca vāg vidhāvati* MS. See §145.

satyaṇ̄ (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvaṇ̄*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ.

irām u ha (AV. *aha*) *praśaṇ̄sati* AV. ŚŚ. ŚG.

pra ṇa (SV. *na*) *īndo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

saṃyak (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.* MŚ. *saṃ it*, KS.* *sarit*) *śravanti sarito*

(TAA. Conc. °tā, Poona ed. text and comm. °to) *na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.* MŚ. The second reading of KS., *sarīt*, tho given by all mss., is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*.

nyañ (AV. *nī yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS. *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *sa im̐* (TS. ī) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt; but *sa im̐* (ī) looks like a secondary lect. fac. for some single word (as in AV. KS.).

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original:

idañ ta ekañ para ū ta (TB. ApŚ., but not KS., *uta*) *ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm. on TB. *uta*, *api ca*; but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*).

sa tū (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīṇe na pra yañsat* RV. SV. 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer': 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

kavir yaḥ putraḥ sa im ā (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. *imā*, *etāni dṛśya-mānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*.

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

ā yañ (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *naraḥ sudānavo dadāṣuṣe* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. The corruption of MS. is indicated by the fact that the verb *deucyavuh* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent.

ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā SV.: *kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā* RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read *kū ṣṭho*.

utem (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-im̐: ūtim*, 'aid'. *mahī no vātī iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.: *miham na vāto vi ha vātī bhūma* RV. *ā tvā* (AV. *emāñ*, ŚG. *enam̐*) *parisrutaḥ* (AG. °sritah, MG. °sṛtah) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. †*kumbhāḥ*, ŚG. *kumbhyō*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.

te ā (SV. *trayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. Note resolution of *e* to *ay*. *sarvaḥ patir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatiñ yad im̐ vṛdhe* RV. AV.

sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu prajānan MS.: *sa vaḥ sarvāḥ sañ carati prajānan* AV. The MS. p.p. *sah*, *sarvāḥ*; in the saṁhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word.

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuwaṁ yatra vāsah*) AV.

ApMB.: *yatrā vrkṣas tanuwaṁ yatra vāsah* HG. Probably *yac ca* of AV. is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding *yatrā*.

[*ā tvam* (GB. *ātmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*; LŚ. *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.]

[*name tad upadambhiṣar* . . . MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* . . .

ApŚ. We must read *nā me* in MS. MŚ.; there is no p.p. here, and *nāme* is simply bad editing.]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA. ApŚ. In TA. text printed *vigā*, but both syllables accented; clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended; so comm.]

7. Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§832. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more shorter words; or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the longer word is original:

balim icchanto vitudasya (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣṭhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

upānasah †*saparyan* RV.: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV. Indra is meant; SV. has obvious earmarks of secondariness.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv.) is broken up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

na me (so read, §831) *tad upadambhiṣar* . . . MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udam bhiṣag*) . . . ApŚ. A simple and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint.

mā (AG. MG. *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. See §868.

akṣāṇām vagnum (AV. em. *gaṇam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with SPP., see Whitney's note; MS. †*vagnum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (AV. *upalipsamānāḥ*, MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) AV. MS. TB. TA. The MS. is corrupt; its p.p., yet worse: *akṣṇā*, *avagmam ity ava-gmam*, *avajighram ity ava-jighram*, *āpaḥ*. But the original is obscure enough.

viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS. Evidently VS. TS. are secondary, tho interpretable; cf. §783.

yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ (SV. *viśvam ānuṣak*) RV. AV. SV. It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV. reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret. See Benfey's note in Translation, p. 259.

anvādīdyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā TB. TA.: *manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā* MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt; p.p. *dīdhyānān*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuṇa)'.

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. The AV. comm., followed by SPP. and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvati*, correctly.

tvam no devatātaye (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV. See §61.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ (AV. *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. If ŚŚ. intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world'. Obscure.

yajñāḥ pratyasṭhāt (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt* (v. l. *pratyasṭhāt*) . . . MS.: *yajña pratīṣṭha* . . . TB. ApS.

apāmityam (AŚ. *apām ittham*) *iva sambhara* MS. KS. AŚ. A graphic error in AŚ.

ubhe yatete ubhayasya (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. Cf. next.

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. In same verse as prec.; here Whitney adopts the RV. reading. See §911.

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original; in TS. AV. there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf. §401); BR. take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS. AV.). Keith rejects the comm. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition. MS. p.p. *avataran*.

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīr (SV. *prāntarikṣāt sthāvīrīs te*) *asṛkṣata* RV. SV. *pra dhārā yantu madhunaḥ* AB.: *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG. (corrupt; abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading).

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh.: *dyauih samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. The BDh. reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG., which is typical stylistically.—The next two variants are in the same passage.

antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā BDh.: *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. As prec.

prthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadraṣṭā BDh.: *prthivī samā tasyāgnir upadraṣṭā* . . . HG. See prec. two.

sutarasi tarase (MahānU. *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namaḥ* RVKh. TA. MahānU. The latter has a v. l. like the others, but its comm. reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler. *Sutarasi* is voc. sing. fem., and *tarase* an infinitive.

ṣīte vāte punann iva (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Doubtless a graphic corruption; but its wide spread is curious.

antarā dyāvāprthivī apah suvaḥ TB. ApMB. HG.: *antarā dyāvāprthivyor apasyuḥ* MG. Is *apasyuḥ* understood as *apa-syuḥ*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom.-sing. of *apasyu*. In any case it is secondary.

anupauhvaḍ anupahvayet HG.: *anu po 'hvaḍ anuhvayaḥ* ApMB. See §732.

yajñapataye (ŚŚ. adds *vasu*; TA. *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā svas kaḥ* (TA. *ā suvas kar asmai*, ŚŚ. *āsaṃskarase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The latter secondary.

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ. The AV. is probably original. See §254.

ayaṃ sahasram ānavo drśaḥ kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma (ApŚ. °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ayaṃ sahasram ā no drśe . . . vidharmaṇi* AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading *sahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV. is original, tho it too is not very sensible.

agnir hotreṇedaṃ (*hotreṇa*, *agnihotreṇedaṃ*) *havir* . . ., see §354.

vande dāruṃ vandamāno vivakmi RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p. 218.

8. Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant. They fall into three subdivisions. Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next. Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another; sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage.

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case:

avakrakṣiṇaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ yathājūram (SV. *yathā jūvam*) RV. AV. SV. *ajūram* 'ageless'; *jūvam* 'swift'.

na māṁsam asi nodalam (HG. *no dalam*) ApMB. HG. If the division is so intended, HG. must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm. on ApMB. (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nódalam* for *ná-udāram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

ya ājagma (N. °*muḥ*) *savanemā* (TS. KS. *savanedaṁ*, N. *savanam idaṁ*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ya ājagmedaṁ saranam*) *jūṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Conc. suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-imā*) for AV., and Whitney notes that the AV. text (p.p. *sāvane, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu ḍdharmā (TB. ApŚ. *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā* . . . *dharmā* (neut. plur.) of RV. 'According to ancient ordinances': 'as the very first law'.

prasthāyendrāgnibhyāṁ somaṁ vocatopo (KB. *vocato yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hvayadhvam* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB. must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption.

jihvā pavitram āsvināsan (TB. °*nā saṁ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB. The original, of which TB. is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'.

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṁ juhomi TS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.: *viśloka viśvadārye tvā saṁjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. Precisely like the prec., except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible.

gōva upāvātāvatam (SV. *upa vadāvate*) RV. SV. See §60.

yatrūsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ (ApMB. *tanuvaiṃ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV.

ApMB.: *yatrā vrkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsaḥ* HG. The latter corrupt; see §198.

ṛdhag (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *ayā* (AV. *ayo*, TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *ṛdhag* (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *utāsamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °ṣṭa, AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §234.

yat tvemahe (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas toj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. Original has *tvā-īmahe*. SMB. comm. alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjayāmi*, or as a noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādikaṃ karma* with *yat*. All mss. agree on it.

āśuṃ tvājau (ApŚ. *ākhuṃ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *hariṣmaśruṃ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV.: *hiriṣmaśruṃ nārvāṇaṃ dhanarcam* RV.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṃdr̥k* (KS. *paramo na saṃvr̥k*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. Graphie change in KS., §871. *hotā viṣṭīmena* (ŚŚ. *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. See §367.

tenemām upa siñcatam RV. AV. TA. N.: *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ. SMB. Different contexts; *imām* or *mām*.

tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV.: *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam* (MS. °yā mām) TS. MS. KS. *imam* or *mām*.

pīveva putraṃ jarase nayemam (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS. is indicated by its p.p.: *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, pointing to the other reading.

yaded (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛnh°*) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

yenākṣā (SMB. °kṣān, PG. °kṣyāv, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyaṣiñcatam*, PG. °tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. For the original 'diee' ŚŚ. lamely substitutes 'earth'.

[*tvayāvasena* (ŚG. text *tvayā jvasena*) *saṃ aśīmahi tvā* TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. ŚG. SMB. PG. The ŚG. seems to be a misprint.]

§836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalie sandhi being secondary:

yadārāghaṭī (read *yadā rā°*) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhātyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

praty eva (ŚŚ. *pra tveva*, i.e. *trā-īva*) *grbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ. °śunā) KS. ApŚ.

But KS. ed. prints the ApŚ. reading, with v. l. °vādīd.

śrutakakṣo aram (SV. °kakṣāram) *gave* RV. SV. Nom.: voc.

vīhi svām āhṛtiṁ juṣāṇo manasā AV.: *vīhi svāhāhṛtiṁ juṣānaḥ* TS. TB.
The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary.

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhvaro* 'si) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *adhvara: dhruva*; it is not certain that the latter is more original.

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ MS.: *mā naḥ param adharani mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. †*param adhanani mā rajo naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. The MS. is corrupt, and its p.p. is worse: *mā, anat, ā, unaiḥ!* Cf. VV I p. 93.

ā māśiṣo (or *ām āśiṣo*, so MS. understands) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS.: *emā agmann āśiṣo dohakāmāḥ* TS. ApŚ. It is possible that KS. also intends *ām* (interjection) *āśiṣo*. It seems that TS. ApŚ. (*ā-imās*) have a lect. fac.

[*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānani* (GB. *ātmanātmānam*, but Gaastra as the others) *me mā hiṁsiḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś.]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another. This process may be illustrated within the RV. itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutān na bhojyā*, 1. 128. 5b. Here we must surely read *agne ravena*; see Conc. and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* I. 127. This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts. Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nṛbhīr yad yukto vive rapāṁsi*, RV. 1. 69. 8, we must read *viver apāṁsi*; and for *muṣāyaś cakram avive rapāṁsi*, RV. 6. 31. 3, *aviver apāṁsi*. Also in AV. 6. 116. 1a, *yad yāman cakrur nikhananto agre*, read probably *yady āman*; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 428, *SBE* 42. 457, and Whitney *ad loc.*

āsann ā (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

madhu reto (TS. *madhor ato*, KS. †*madhur ato*, AŚ. text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Keith on TS. thinks the KS. reading is correct. He calls the MS. 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; *madhu* and *reto* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object. But the MS. p.p. reads *madhuh, antaḥ*, pointing towards the KS. reading.

revatī ramadvam, revatīr amedhyam, see §255.

- ā māśiṣo* (MS. text *ām āśiṣo*) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS. And others; see §836. MS. and KS. may intend the same reading.
- agor arir ā ciketa* RV.: *nāgo rayir ā ciketa* SV. Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'böś'. Doubtful; the SV. is hardly interpretable.
- ubhayor ārtnyor* (TS. *ārtniyor*, NilarU. *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm. calmly takes it.
- satyād ā* (ApŚ. *satyā tā*) *dharmaṇas patī* (ŚŚ. *dharmaṇā*, and so mss. of MŚ.; Vait. MŚ. *pari*, ŚŚ. omits *patī*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.
- purovāto varṣaṇ jinvār āvrt svāhā* TS. ApŚ.: *purovāta* (KS. °to) *jinvā rāvaṭ* (KS. °vat) *svāhā* MS. KS. And other formulas in same passage; see §168. TS. is secondary.
- yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi* (ŚŚ. †*namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya*. Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait. *entnahmen*) from the asuric N.' ŚŚ. is secondary and poor; *dadhi* 'sour milk' conceals *adhi*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl. which preceded in the original form. For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15. 144-63.

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive: at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another. Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:

śatāpāṣṭhādya (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. In MahānU. a v. l. agrees with TA. but for *aṇūp*°; but the comm. keeps to the text as printed. He explains *pītābhā* by *pītavarṇā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmeṇopamīyate kuṇḍalinīti yām naigamā āhuḥ*. The TA. makes *pītā bhāsvatī* = *pītavarṇā*, and *aṇūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavitum yogyā*.

acikradat svapā iha bhuvat AV.: *adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā* RV. MS.

Whitney says the AV. has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading. Ppp. *bharat* for *bhuvat* (§602).

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS. *devapuraś carasa rḍhyāsam*) *tā* MS. TA. ApŚ. The MS. is corrupt: p.p. *deva*, *punar iti punaḥ*, *carase*. See §817.

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yai) ṛṇayā na īyase (SV. īrase) RV. SV. KS. AB
ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV. 'A simple corruption'
(Whitney) in AV.

ṛtasyartena mām uta (TA. ita) TB. TA.: *ṛtāsya tv ènam ā'mútaḥ* MS.
(p.p. *tú, enam, mā'm, utám ma*, in part pointing to the TB. reading).
MS. is corrupt; in TB. supply *muñcata* from preceding pāda.

graha viśvajānīna niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p.p. *viprāya, 'mate*; KS.
nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī) MS. KS.

§839. In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending:

made suśipram (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) andhasaḥ RV. SV.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV.: *sa im̐* (TS. ī) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (MS.
°sā *starīman*, TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras*
suprayakṣuḥ KS.

maṇḍūky apsu śam̐ bhuvah AV.: *maṇḍūkyā su sam̐ ṛgamah* (TA. *gamaya*)
RV. TA. The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
the secondary reading of AV.

§840. The rest hardly need classification:

yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham MahānU.: *yās te soma prajā vatso*
'bhi so aham TA. Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter-
pretations of the comms. give little help. For instance, the TA.
comm. explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *umā = brahmavidyā*,
so that *soma = paramātman*!

viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsiṭha (ŚB. *manda āsiṭha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ.
didāsiṭha is taken as a desiderative from *dā*. 'O V. Bh., thou didst
seek to give me (the earth) away': '... thou wast slow of wit (so
comm., *mandamatīḥ*)'. Either meaning is possible.

bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā naḥ (TA. *abhiśusta enaḥ*) AV. TA. Comm.
on TA.: *yad eno 'smābhiḥ kṛtam tad abhiśastah śatrusthānīyam*!
It would be better to understand *abhiśaste*, 'upon the accursed one
(may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV.
samudrād udajāni vah (ApŚ. *udacann iṇa*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. The ApŚ.
reading seems better.

yā sam̐jayantam adhi yāsu vardhase KS.: *āsūm̐ jayantam anu yāsu*
vardhase RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

mānasya patni śaraṇā syonā AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā*
HG. See §189.

jyēṣṭhasya dharmaṇ dyukṣor anīke SV.: *jyēṣṭhasya vā dharmāṇi kṣor*
anīke RV. The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for
dyukṣayor, from *dyukṣa*.

- brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svarā-rakṣāṇaḥ*) *svāhā* AG. PG. MG. The original is probably AG., see §742. PG. has a simple lect. fac.; MG. is corrupt.
- yena bhūyās ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.
- sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Corruption in VSK.
- āyuhpati ratham̐taram* (MŚ. *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad aśīya* . . . ApŚ. MŚ. Caland would read °*patī* (nom.) in ApŚ., and observes that MŚ. is yet more corrupt.
- ud vanśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvan kham iva menire* Mbh.
- kratvā variṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.
- ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *ṇṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. See §684.
- prathamachad* (KS. *parama*°) *avarāṇ* (TS. *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen.depend-ing on *vara* (*vare*). The result is close to nonsense.
- ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS. MS.
- tena saṁhanu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tena sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG. See §47.
- pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS. °*mad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Either makes good sense.
- ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīre* (VS. °*ṣṭhīre*, TS. *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadratham̐tare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS. †*kalpantām*) VS. TS. MS. Cf. §803; TS. secondary.
- pumāṇsaṁ vardhatām mayi* ŚG.: *pumāṁ saṁvartatām mayi* PG.: *pumāṁ garbhas tavodare* SMB. See §97. Despite the Conc., ŚG. is quite correct, and may well be the original reading.
- jāmim itvā mā viritse lokān* TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.
- hiraṇyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ.
- utem anamnamuḥ* (KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. *utera nam*°) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- athem ara sya vara ā prthivṛyāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *athemam asyā vara ā prthivṛyāḥ* AV. See §236.
- utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB. *vicāyah*) RV. MS. TB. N. See §254.

- anūdā yadi jījanad* (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV.
- pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mrtyuṃ* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṃ*, MG. *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu naḥ*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. The last is secondary.
- yaśasendrābrhaspatī* (ArS. *yaśo mendrā°*) ArS. PG. MG. Graphic change.
- dṛumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ* (AV. °*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.
- dhiyā martāḥ śaśamate* (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. See §189.
- yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, most mss. *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. See §189.
- yunaḥmi tisro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *virṭaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §189.
- pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG.: †*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG. *asya* in MG. is to be taken in a cosmic sense; it is of course secondary.
- yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Whitney describes the MS. as a 'corrupt guess'.
- māyādevā avataran* HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. See §401.
- ā gharṃ agnīm ṛtayanṃ asādi* (TA. *asādīt*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādi* MS. The latter is of course secondary.
- adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS. The ApŚ. is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading.
- [*iṣur nāvīrastāram* ŚŚ.: *iṣuṃ na vīro astā* AV. RWh. by emendation; but mss. as ŚŚ. except for *iṣuṃ*.]
- [*pātaṃ mā dyāvapṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. text *aghān naḥ*) TS. ApŚ. Kauś. Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kauś.; cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the reading quoted for ms. Bū *hna* should be read for *dna*.]

9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822–31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter.

§842. For instance, in a pāda like
syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV.
 AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.,

it is clear that AV. has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *tvam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *tvam* and *-sva*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ni no rayiṁ subhojasam yuvasva (TS. *yuveha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS., where TS. likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *iha*. And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG. *te sadā*) MG. YDh., it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*, rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG., the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843. Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word:

agnim (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV. SV. In RV. *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV. has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (*aprāg api*) AV. (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

yataḥ sūrya udeti AV.: *yataś codeti sūryaḥ* ŚB. BṛhU. KaṭhaU. †4. 9a. *āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.: *āśūn ira suyamān ahva ūtaye*

AV. Here the longer form of AV. may be original; at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

tasmai no (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (AV. PG. °*dhatteha*, KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ. *viśve*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh.

Even the KS. MŚ. form, lacking *iha*, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter:

śatena pāśair varuṇābhi dhehi KS.: *śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varuṇainam* AV. The reading of Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 37. 298) is that of KS., and this is doubtless original.

taṁ ahaṁ punar ādade KŚ. PG.: *imaṁ taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG.

tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛṇuta praśastam (AV. *kṛṇuhi supraśastam*) RV. AV. The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV. Anukramaṇī and omitted in Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 41. 266).

§846. Once SV. omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV., thereby spoiling the meter; the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsaḥ* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves is too short: *tubhyaṁ somāḥ sutā ime* RV.: *tubhyaṁ sutāsaḥ somāḥ* SV.

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following:

anumate 'nu idaṁ manyasva AV.: *anumate 'nu* (KapS. †*anu*) *manyasva na idaṁ* KS. Cf. *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

apāṁ napātam aśvinā hure dhiyā (TS. †*hayantam*) AV. TS. The mss. of AV. read *aśvinā* (accented) and *dhiyaḥ*. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss., but both are metrically correct. See Whitney's and Keith's notes.

§848. In the next AV. by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV., and to save the meter omits the light word *u*:

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §996.

§849. In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent. We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary; they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group:

imaṁ (AV. **taṁ u*) *me agadaṁ kṛta* (AV. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV.* VS. TS.

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ. *taṁ manyeta* (ViDh. *taṁ vai manyet*) *pitarāṁ mātaraṁ ca* SāmhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. ViDh.

asmān (AV. *sā naḥ*) *site payasābhyāvartsva* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

upa yajñam asthita (MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.
apasadhan (SV.† °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV. SV.

See VV I §194. In RV. *r* in *mṛdaya* is long; in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter.

marutām pitas tad aham grṇāmi (MS. *grṇe te*) TS. MS.: *marutām pitar uta tad grṇīmah* KS.

tasya doham aśīmahi (KS. *aśīya*, AŚ. *aśīya te*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. In KS. prose.

tvaṣṭā sudatro (TA. *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyah* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. N.

sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viśeha (Kauś. *viveśa*) KS. Kauś.: *sa no mayobhūḥ pitav* (TS. TB. *pito*, MŚ. *pitur*, SMB. Jørgensen *pitav*) *āriśasva* (AŚ. *āviśeha*, MŚ. *āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.

aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñīyebhiḥ RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhir yajñīyair āgahīha* AV.

dadhad ratnāni (RV. once *ratnā vi*) *dāśuṣe* RV. (thrice) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *dhattam ratnāni dāśuṣe* RV.: *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāni* RV. VS.

twiṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu AV.: *twiṣir aśvceṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB. The Ppp. agrees with TB. (Barret, JAOS 30. 204).

anūgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (AV. *grham naḥ*) RV. AV. MG. The Ppp. according to Roth agrees with RV.; and the AV. text makes poor sense as Whitney observes.

abhūn mama (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśravedāḥ* TS. KS. PG.

ahnā yad cnaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam (AŚ. *asti kiñcit*; ŚŚ. *enaś cakṛmeha kiñcit*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

edan̄ barhir ni ṣīdata (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṣīda naḥ*) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Change of context in AŚ. ŚŚ. requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *naḥ*.

devebhyo haryam (MS. MŚ. MG. *haryā*) *vahatu* (TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *vaha naḥ*, Kauś. **vaha*) *prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.* AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.* MG. In one form Kauś. is unmetrical, lacking *naḥ*.

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS. *amṛtam nu*, TA. MahānU. *vocc amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

vīryebhir (MS. *vīrebhur*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°, Poona ed. *śavi*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

punantu viśvā bhūtāni (MS. *bhūtā mā*) AV. VS. MS. KS. Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *viśve devāḥ punīta mā*, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

śataṁ pavitrā vitatā hy (MS. *vitatāny*) *āsu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Undoubtedly MS. is original; form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others. *hwayāmi* (AV. SV. TS. MS. *huve nu*) *śakraṁ puruhūtāṁ indram* RV. AV. SV. MS. VS. TS. KS. MahānU.

apriye (AV. **apriyaḥ*) *prati muñcatām* (Kauś.† °*tam*, AV. **muñca tat*) AV. (bis) Kauś.

sarvāṁ agnīṁ (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vaḥ* (MS. omits *vaḥ*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. TB. See VV I p. 253.

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are:

ṛṣīṇām ca stutī (SV. *suṣtutī*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

agnīm indraṁ (TB. *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS. °*haṇam huvema*) AV. MS. TB.

yā antarikṣyā (TB. ApŚ. °*kṣa*) *uta pāṛthivāsaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. AG. *pāṛthivīr yāḥ*) KS. AG. TB. ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with *āpaḥ*), the KS. form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62); but it may nevertheless be the original.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yās ca tatnīre*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG. Discussed in VV I §§46, 218.

jarām gachāsi (PG. *gacha*, AV. *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsaḥ* AV. PG. ApMB. HG. Only the relative antiquity of AV. favors greater originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive.

CHAPTER XIX. RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants; the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots *jinv* and *pinv*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms: 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Samhitās; both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts:

mano me jinva (MS. KS. *pinva*, Vait. *mano jinva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait.

Followed by:

vācam me pinva (MS. KS. ŚŚ. *jinva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.

tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MŚ.† *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

jinva (AŚ. †*pinvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvataḥ* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Cf. *pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato naḥ* RV. KS.

§853. Other verb forms are:

ūrjā pṛthivīm gachata (MS. *yachata*) TS. MS. KS. TB.

paramam padam ava bhāti (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS. *bhūreḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The comm. on VS. calmly says: *avabhāri avabhāti, takārasthāne chāndaso rephaḥ!* BR. derive from root *bhr*, as aor. pass. 'wurde eingedrückt', which is at least possible.

trikadrakebhiḥ patati (AV. *pavate*) RV. AV. KS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. Hil- lebrandt, *Ved. Myth*¹. I. 500.

pratilāmīti (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Derived by the comms. from roots *til* and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

sañ bāhubhyāñ dhamati (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. *°bhyām adhamat*) *sañ palatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. *sañ-dham* and *sañ-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together'. Note also the noun forms *palatra*: *yajatra* (graphic change).

asadan (TS. *asanan*) *mātarañ purah* (TS. *punah*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself': 'has reached'.

yābhyāñ svar ajanann (TB. *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS. TB. MŚ.: *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV. 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning.'

sañ grāvabhīr nasate (SV. *vasate*) *vīte adhvare* RV. SV. Both 'unite with'; SV. lect. fac. (*sañ-nas* was obsolete).

rasena sam asṛkṣmahi (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *aprkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. *sañ-srj* and *sañ-prc* practically synonyms. Cf. *sañ-prc* and *sañ-sprś*, §375.

aṅgād-aṅgāt sañbhavasi (SMB. **sañśravasi*) ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB.* GG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mahābh. In SMB. a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety: 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arisest'. The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts. In both cases some mss. of SMB. have the alternative reading.

pra ketunā bṛhatā yāty (AV. TA. *bhāty*) *agniḥ* RV. AV. SV. TA. 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam.' Perhaps graphic?

śocasva (VS.* *rocasva*) *devavītamah* (KS. *°vittamah*) RV. RVKh. VS.* TS. MS. KS. TA. Synonyms.

tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. *°the*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*) *aditiñ* *ditim* ca RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Root *cakṣ*: perfect of *kr*.

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. Quasi-synonyms. AVPpp. also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach).

mā chetthā (v. l. *bhetthā*) *mā vyathiṣṭhāḥ* KBU.

[*varṣmā rathasya ni jihīṣate* (ŚŚ. *jihīlate*) *dirah* AV. ŚŚ. So RWh.; but the mss. of AV. read *jihūdate*, which should be kept.]

§854. Riming participles occur in the following:

pratyag enaṁ śapathā yantu trṣṭāḥ (AV. *sṛṣṭāḥ*) RV. AV. Comm. and one ms. of AV. *trṣṭāḥ*, for which *sṛṣṭāḥ* may be called a lect. fac.: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'.

yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣīḥ ŚG.: *yā ṭādroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣīḥ* ApMB.
Pples. of roots *sru* and *sthā*.

āyurdā deva (AV. *agne*) *jarasaṁ vrṇānaḥ* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *grṇ°*)
AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. HG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyusmān*)
agne haviṣo juṣānaḥ (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vrḍhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB.
TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The ApMB. etc. readings are an interest-
ing blend of those which contain *vrṇānaḥ* and *juṣānaḥ*. Perhaps
grṇānaḥ was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring';
even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg
adopts *vrṇānaḥ* for HG. Still a different version ('thriving by the
oblation') is adopted in VS. etc.; this is an easy lect. fac. in a
passage relating to Agni.

ā sutrāvṇe (MS. KS. *bhūyīṣṭhadārṇe*) *sumatim āvrṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.:
oṣīṣṭhadārṇe sumatim grṇānāḥ TS. 'Choosing to myself (praising)
his kindness.'

§855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman*: *nāman*
stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are
easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both
mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the
other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in:

yat te 'nādhrṣṭam nāma yajñīyam (KS. *nāmānādhrṣyam*, MS. *dhāmānā-
dhrṣyam*) *tena tvādadhe* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The change in MS.
was suggested by *ādadhe*.

sedam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sada ṭāsīda (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye
śadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Also:

priyeṇa dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda*
(VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.* *priye śadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.
KŚ. ApŚ. In this and the prec. (which are variants of each other)
only the VS. texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose
that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym
of *śadas*.

vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*: Ppp. *gandharvo nāma*) *paramaṁ
guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *gandharvo dhāma
paramaṁ guhā yat* (VS. *vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat*) AV. VS.: *gandharvo
nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. Here two different pādas
have become confused; one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,
the other with *gandharvo dhāma*. The AVPpp. reading (not in
Conc.) occurs in the verse where AV. has *vidma te dhāma*.

puruṣṭutasya dhāmabhīḥ (MS. *nā°*) RV. AV. MS. Vait.

§856. Twice the RV. phrase *prathena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV. to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB. follows SV.: *ahan̄ pratnena manmanā* (SV. *jan°*) RV. SV. AV.

agnīḥ pratnena manmanā (SV. TB. *jan°*) RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.

§857. Other nouns and adjectives:

aktam̄ (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS.**artham̄*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. *viyantu*) *vayah̄* TS. MS. KS.* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktam̄ rihāṇāḥ* VS. A very obscure passage; the isolated *artham̄* may possibly be due to graphic confusion.

śarīram̄ me vicakṣaṇam (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratikaṁ me vicakṣaṇam* PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)'. Scheftelowitz on RVKh. reads *vicakṣaṇa*, but it seems that *ṇam* must be the true reading.

paktā (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204; he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pfl egt reif zu werden'; cf. Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p. 171.

kuhūm aham̄ (AV. Vait. *kuhūm devīm̄*) *svr̥tam̄* (AV. MS. KS. *sukṛtam̄*, TS. *subhagām̄*) *vidmanāpasam* AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Quasi-synonyms.

dyumnā suksatra maṇhaya RV.: *dyumnāṁ sudatra maṇhaya* SV.

dhanam̄jayam̄ dharuṇam̄ dhārayiṣṇu RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṇham̄ acyutam̄ pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣṇuḥ* AV. The evidently secondary *cyāv°* is suggested by *'cyutaś*: 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'.

aśloṇo 'piśācadhītaḥ ApMB.: *anandho 'śloṇo 'piśācadhīraḥ* HG. The latter is a strange corruption; the original means 'not sucked by demons'.

adroghavūcam̄ matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham (RV.* *°bhir yavi°*) RV.* AV. See RVRep. 275 f.

abhi dyumnāṁ (RV. VS. *sumnāṁ*) *devabhaktāṁ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitaṁ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Quasi-synonyms.

nagnahur dhīras (KS. *rīras*) *tasaram̄ na vema* VS. MS. KS. TB. Synonyms.

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG. *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. ŚG. *edhase* is certainly right: 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA. comm. quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah̄* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'.

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nūtir*, KS. °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38. 12b], MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The form with *n* is apparently original; in MS. KS. it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti*. *kuvin no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV. *bhavīyasī*) RV. SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.

sthirā cin namayiṣṇavaḥ RV.: *dr̥dhā cid yamayīṣṇavaḥ* SV. Practically synonyms, 'bending': 'subduing'.

añdhi kham vartayā paṇim (SV. *pavim*) RV. SV. Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf. Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten* ad loc.). It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*; a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent.

tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots. Cf. next.

ul satvanāṁ māmakānāṁ manāṁsi (TS. *mahāṁsi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. Cf. prec.

dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. ApMB. HG.

The two words are near-synonyms; *pāśam* is clearly original.

upa śreṣṭhā na āśiṣaḥ (MS. *āśirah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

panasyuwaḥ saṁvasaneṣv (SV. °*varaṇeṣv*) *akramuḥ* RV. SV. Quasi-synonyms; 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.

asya (AŚ. *mama*) *enuṣā śvaśurasya praśiṣṭim* (AŚ. *praviṣṭau*) TB. AŚ.

Complete change of meaning as well as syntax.

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS. *vātāya sūr°*) . . . *vr̥ṣṭivanaye* (MS.° *sanaye*) . . .

MS. TA. ApŚ.

CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *ṭ* and *ṭh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion; it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859. The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *r*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

n and *r*

§860. The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants:

indhāna enaṁ jarate (MS. KS. *janate*, but MS. p.p. *jarate*, KS. v. 1. *jarite*) *svādhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. N. One ms. of KS. reads *jarite*, and the p.p. of MS. *jarate*; this is clearly the proper reading.

mṛttike hana (MahānU. *hara*) *me pāpam* TA. MahānU. Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hr* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away').

asadan (TS. *asanan*) *mātaraṁ puraḥ* (TS. *punaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

avimuktacakra (v. 1. °rā) *āsīran* PG.: *virṭtacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB. *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. Others, §830.

tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS.: *mahāntaṁ gahvareṣṭhām* SV.

nīrṭho (MS. °to) *yaś ca nīsvanaḥ* (AV. °raḥ) AV. MS. TA.

nīgalgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulīti* (KS.† *jalgalūti*, mss., em. °līti) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

deva puraścara saghyāsaṁ (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*; p.p. *deva, punar iti punaḥ, carase*, etc.) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. is corrupt in both readings.

mā na āyuh param avaraṁ mānadonaiḥ MS.: *mā naḥ param adharaṁ* (MŚ. *param adhanaṁ*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. Two cases; *adhanaṁ*: *adharaṁ*, and *mā rajo*: *mānado-* (corrupt).

ruvad dhokṣā (TB. *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*; §684.

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants; note one case in RV. itself:

viśvāny anyo (RV.*KS. *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV. (both) MS. KS. TB.

In different contexts.

balivardāya (KSA. °vandāya) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Apparently *balivardāya* is intended.

ilūvardāya (KSA. *alivandāya*) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Follows the prec. *gaurīr* (TB. TA. *gaurī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

vidyur (ApMB. *vidyun*) *me asya devāḥ* RV. AV. KS. ApMB. See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xxiv. *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*; it is read by all mss. and confirmed by the comm., who says that *t* for visarga is *chāndasa*! *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form.

śīte vāte punann iva (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.

The persistence in the mss. of the impossible *punarniva* is striking. *ni nivartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB. See §273.

adyā tvā vanvan (KS. *vardhan*) *surekṇāḥ* RV. KS. TB.

ukhān sravantīm agadām aganma (MŚ. *akarma*) KŚ. MŚ.

anārbhava mṛḍa KS. ApŚ. The ms. of KS. reads *anānbhava*, em. v. Schroeder; see p. w. 5, Nachträge. Cf. *anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ. See §749.

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agni* and *agra*. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10. 18. 7d, *ā rohantu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneḥ* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning: 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire'. In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV. and TA., there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne*. It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agni* secondary. The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion.

§864. The list is as follows; the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*:

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam (PB. *abhisam*°) TS. PB. TB. PG.

ApMB.: *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss. of both *vātāgnim*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ. MG. Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

agre vikṣu pradīdayat RV.: *agne vikṣu pratīdayat* TB. (Poona ed. *agre* without v. l., but comm. *he agne*.)

tubhyam agre (MG. *agne*) *pary avahan* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG.

agre (MS.*KS.*MŚ. *agne*) *bṛhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV. VS. TS. MS.*KS.*ŚB. ApŚ., and Pratikas AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Rvidh. BṛhD.

tenemam agra (TB. *agna*) *iha varcasā tsamañgdhi* KS. TB. Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading; one accented ms. of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended.

tavāham nāma bibharāṇy agne (AŚ. *agre*) TS. AŚ.: *tavāham agne bibharāṇi nāma* MŚ. Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading.

[*agre* (TB. *agne*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *agre*) *yajñasya śocataḥ* (KS. TB. *cetataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samidham āhārṣam* AV. Kauś. *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed., which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation.]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following:

akṣāṇāṁ vagnum (MS. *tvagnum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) MS. TB. TA. The MS. is certainly wrong. TB. comm. *upahataṁ kurvan*.

girā ca (AV. *virājah*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney on AV. adopts *śnuṣṭiḥ* with most mss.; Ppp. *sunīṣṭas*. See §57.

ūrdhvacitaḥ (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS.† *śna*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Doubtless corruption, if not misprint; see §195.

c and v

§866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose'; also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav*. The others are sporadic.

agnim hotāram antarā vivṛttāḥ AŚ.: *hotāram agnim antarā vicṛttāḥ* ApŚ.

'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicṛttāḥ* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect. fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.

rtasya tantuṁ vitatāṁ vivṛtya (VS. *vicṛtya*, AV. *dr̥ṣe kam*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The true reading is probably *vicṛtya*. So Poona ed. of TB. text and comm., tho with v. l. *vivṛtya*; comm. gloss *guruśāstramukhān niścītya*, which looks as if he had read *vivṛtya* and taken it from *vi-vṛ* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case. MahānU. reads *virṭya* without recorded variant; comm. gloss *vr̥tī sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us.

[*vi pāsaṁ madhyamaṁ cṛta* (TB. and MŚ. v. l. *vr̥ta*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. So Conc., seemingly erroneously; MŚ. has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed. of TB. likewise *cṛta* text and comm. with no v. l.]

śabali prajānāṁ śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣaṁ svāhā* PB. ApŚ.

[*vīryebhir* (MS. *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci°*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm. without v. l.]

[*devānāṁ devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci°*) MS. TB. Again Poona ed. of TB. *śavi°* without v. l.]

viciṭi (or *viviṭi*) *svāhā* MahānU.: *viviṣṭyai svāhā* TA. TAA. There is also a v. l. *civiṭi* in MahānU. The word is meaningless. Comm. *viciṭi*, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v. l. *vidhijña*. Poona ed. of both TA. and TAA. *viviṣṭyai*, explained by comm. as for *viviṣṭyai* by Vedic license.

vakratuṇḍāya (TAA. *cakra°*) *dhīmahi* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

saṁ arvanto raghudrwaḥ (VSK. *°drucaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. Meaningless corruption in VSK.

ghṛtapratīkaṁ va (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. *dhūruṣ°*, Poona ed. *dhūrṣ°*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The sandhi shows that TB. is secondary and poor.

yatra cābhīmṣūmasi (HG. *vābhi°*) ApMB. HG.

p and *y*

§867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group:

indrāpāsya (two mss. *indrāyāsya*) *phaliḡam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt; Kirste suggests *indra āyāsya*) *śephma alīkam* . . . HG.

hriyai śalyakāḥ (VS. *śalpakāḥ*) VS. MS. The *p* is a false reading; VS. comm. *śvāvit*.

bṛhaspataye śitṛuṭaḥ (KSA.† *śimṛuṭaḥ*) TS. KSA. An otherwise unknown word; said to be a kind of cat.

prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somaṁ vocatopo (KB. *vocatopo*) *asmān* . . . KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Read in KB. as the others (Keith).

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamati (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

prapunvanta upa spr̥ṣata prapunvadbhya svāhā ApMB.: *prayunvanta upaspr̥ṣata prayunvadbhya svāhā* HG. Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable.

- susasyāḥ* (VSK. °*pāḥ*) *kr̥ṣ̥s kr̥dhi* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *kr̥ṣyai tvā susasyāyai* (KS. †*sumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. With the VSK. reading cf. *śaṣpa*.
- pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The mss. of both texts vary between *lp* and *ly*.
- anaḍvāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ. *talpate vahan*) ApŚ. MŚ. If MŚ. is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption. *tvam hi rādhaspata* (text °*yata*, wrongly) *eka īśiṣe* ŚŚ.
- ubhe ca no* (etc.) . . . *añhasaḥ* (°*sas*) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *añhasaḥ spātām*, AŚ. text †*añhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The true reading can only be *añhasaḥ* (or °*sas*) *pātām*.
- [*tanūpā* (TB. °*yā*, Poona ed. °*pā*) *bhiṣajā sute* VS. MS. KS. TB.]
- [*vahiṣṭhebhīr viharan yāsi* (TB. Conc. *pāhi*, comm. and Poona ed. text *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. TB. KS. AŚ. ApŚ.]
- [*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB. *turiyo*, Poona ed. text and comm. °*po*) *adbhutaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.]
- [*āpataye* (GB. *āya*°, Gaastra *āpa*°) *tvā grhṇāmi* VSK. TS. MS. GB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.]
- [*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS.† °*hai*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Probably a double misprint in LŚ.]
- [*viśvatohasta uta viśvataspāt* (TA. °*taḥ syāt*, but Poona ed. correctly °*taspat*) TS. MS. KS. TA.]

gh and dy

- §868. The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent:
- mā* (AG. MG. *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. The correct reading is *mā* . . . *aghāyavaḥ* 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee'. It is strange that apparently all mss. of AG. MG. read *ā* at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra at the end of the preceding pāda. (Stenzler assumes *mā*.) The further corruption in MG. seems an attempt to patch up a bad job; it implies *adya-āyavaḥ* 'may lives today reach thee.'
- magham* (MS., but not KS.†, *madyam*) *indrāya jubhīre* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra.' Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS., involving the misreading of *gh* as *dy*. Cf. next.
- sa bibheda balaṁ* (VS. and Poona ed. TB. *valaṁ*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. prec.
- śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā* (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṣṭhā gha viṣā*) *pari no vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śurā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (Poona ed. of

TB. records v. l. 'dya, and comm. v. l. adya.) The MS. is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf. §875; see also §838.

pātaṁ mā dyāvāprthivī adyāhnaḥ (Kauś. *aghān naḥ*, read *adyāhnaḥ*)

TS. ApŚ. Kauś. See §840.

[*kevalāgho* (TB. *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*lāgho*) *bhavati kevalādī* RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: *pāpam eva saṁpādayati na tu kiṁcid api puṇyam.*]

[*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA. *vādya*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm. *vā gha*) *satyam uta yan na vidma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a v. l. *vādya* in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (*yad eva kiṁcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*.]

d and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *diś* and *viś*; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *viś*. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*.

devānām patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA. †*viśaḥ*) VS.

TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original *diś*, and even it is perhaps not certain.

ye vā nūnam svrjanāsu vikṣu (AV. *dikṣu*) RV. AV. A v. l. *vikṣu* occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads.

śasvad viśaḥ (TB. *diśaḥ*) *savitur daivyaśya* RV. TB. The change in TB. was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next pāda.

viśām (TB. *diśām*) *patir abhavad vājīnīvān* MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

viśo (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

hṛtsu kratum varuṇo (MS. *varuṇam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apsv*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.†

apa durhārdiśo jahi Kauś. (read *durhārdviśo*, Cone.)

ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ (TS. TA. ApMB. *śuśmēna*, MS. *dhāmnā*, KS. *vr̥ṣtyā*, PG. *dr̥ṣtyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁdr̥k* (KS. *paramo na saṁvr̥k*) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. N. *saṁvr̥k* perhaps 'seizer'; certainly inferior.

avasphūrjan vidyud (TS. *didyud*) *varṣan* . . . TS. MS. KS.

bhūmir iti tvābhīpramanvate janāḥ AV.: *yām tvā jano bhūmir iti praman-date* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The latter secondary and poor; Mahīdhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean.

s and m

§870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:

kr̥ṣyai tvā susasyāyai (KS. *ṡsumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. Others, see §867. The original is clearly *susasyāyai*.

agne yān devān ayāḍ . . . tān sasanuṣīm (KS. ms. *tān samanoṣīr*, ed. em. *samanaiṣīr*) *hotrām* . . . MS. KS. TB. The corrupt ms. reading of KS. seems to point towards the reading of MS. TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version.

pr̥kṣasya (ArS. *prak°*) *vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. Synonyms.

athā jīvaḥ (KS. *adhā viṣitaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *athaitam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pitum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

graha viśvajanaṇa niyantar viprāyāma te (MS. p.p. *viprāya*, *mate*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṡsati*) MS. KS.

yaśasendrābhr̥haspatī (ArS. *yaśo mēdrā°*) ArS. PG. MG.

mā brāhmaṇasya (3c *sā br°*) *rājanya* AV. 5. 18. 1c, 3c. In the Berlin ed. *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc. But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error.

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV. *paniṡtama*) RV. AV. SV. VS.: *mahāns te mahato mahimā* AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*.

vahāsi mā (KS. *ṡvahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*) KS. TB. Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*.

tvaṡṡ devaiḥ sahamāna indrah MG.: *tvaṡtar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

nīlāgalasālā AV.: *nīlagalamālāḥ śivaḥ paśya* NīlarU. See §512. Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU., thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*.

t and n

§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete:

sa tvañ (ŚŚ. ApŚ. *sanvan*) *sanīm suvimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §830.

tan mā jinva (KS. *mārjivā*) TS. MS. KS. See §§354, 829.

dhātā vidhātā (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota sañdṛk* (KS. *paramo na sañvṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. See §835.

yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU. *nānyo*, v. 1. *mānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. 1. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU.

upa stuhi (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *tañ nṛmnām* (Poona ed. *nṛmañām*) *athadrām* TA. (Other forms, see §110.) The mss. of the comm. vary between *stuhi* and *snuhi*; gloss *bhūmau prasrāvaya*, pointing to *snuhi*.

yām apitā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ LŚ.: *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpaḥ* AV. *prapīnam* (MŚ. v. 1. °*tañ*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ. *salīlasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ghṛtañ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

āvīte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB.

āvittau (TS. *āvinnau*) *mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Others with *āvitta*: *āvinna*, see Conc. 188.

grāmañ sajanāyo ṭgachanti ApMB.: *grāmāñ sajatāyo yanti* HG.

jāmim itvā mā vivītsi lokān TA.: *jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt* AV.

vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (°*no*) . . . , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmino* . . . , see §209.

savitā bhṛtyām (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS. See §242.

ṣ and p

§872. The variants are few:

atho (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīsāt* (VS. °*visāt*, LŚ. †*ṣadvinīsāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

vājīnañ śepena VS.: *śeṣo vājīnena* MS. But MS. p.p. *śepaḥ*; read certainly *śepo*.

ye tāṭṛṣur (TB. *tāṭṛpur*) *devatrā jehamānāḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. 'Thirsted': 'delighted'.

ā and *prā*

§873. In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself:
āvo (and *prāvo*) *yudhyantaṁ vṛṣabhaṁ daśadyum* RV. (both)
āsmā aśṛṇvann āśāḥ AV.: *prāsmā āśā aśṛṇvan* TA.
āvat tam (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. *āvartam*; Poona ed. text and comm. *āvar tam*; so also KS. ms.) *indraḥ śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

s and *p*, *pt*, *pr*, *bh*, *t*

§874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870):

suśīmaṁ somasatsaru AV.: *suśevaṁ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS.

MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. See §180. *s* and *p* (*t*).

rasena sam asṛkṣmahi (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.
s and *p*.

[*āptaṁ manah* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. So read in TB., for which Bibl. Ind. ed. has *āsaṁ*.]

sacyutiṁ (AŚ. *pracyutiṁ*) *jaghanacyutiṁ* MS. TB. AŚ. Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *sacyutiṁ* (MS. *hastacyutiṁ*). Perhaps the AŚ. variant (*s*: *pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety).

anugrāsaś (PB. *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV. AV. PB. The original is a nom. pl. of *an-ugra*. PB. misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*.

yad adya dugdhaṁ prthivīm asṛpta (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*.

agne svam (TS. TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tram*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. *sv*: *tv*, the latter secondary.

gh and *dh* and other similar letters

§875. The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic:

ghāṇāṅgāny apve (SV. *aghe*) *parehi* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. The SV. is certainly corrupt; see Benfey's *Nachträge* to SV. text, p. 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā*. *gh*: *pv*.

agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ . . . TS.: adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekaḥ . . . MŚ.
gdh: dhv or ddh.

ima udvāsīkāriṇa ime . . . TB. ApŚ.: imā uddhāsīcāriṇa ime . . . MŚ.
ddh: dv.

ruvad dhokṣā (TB. nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā) paprathānebhīr evaiḥ RV. MS. AB.
KB. TB. The TB. is secondary; ddh: dbhy.

v and j, ṣ, tr, ṭh

§876. Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c*, *d*.

pra viṣṭīminam āviṣuḥ AV. VS. ŚŚ.: pra samhr̥ṣṭinam ājiṣuḥ LŚ. The whole passage is obscure; LŚ. doubtless secondary, with *j* for *v*.

usrāv (VSK. usrā) etaṁ dhūrṣāhau (VSK. MŚ. dhūrvāhau) . . . VS. VSK.
TS. ŚB. MŚ. Others, §122. ṣ: v.

[vairāji (KSA.† °je) puruṣī (so also KSA.†, Conc. wrongly puruvī) TS. KSA.]

[pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. sa vācā, but comm. and Poona ed. text satrācā) manasā yajāte (TB. °tai, Poona ed. text and comm. °te) RV. TB.]

[śaṁ te pruvāva śīyatām AV.: śam u pr̥ṣṭhāva (read pr̥ṣvāva with Poona ed. text and comm., tho v. l. pr̥ṣṭhāva) śīyatām TA.]

y and ṣ, th

§877. For *y* and *p* see §867; for *dy* and *gh*, §868.

r̥ṣvāḥ satīḥ kavaṣaḥ (KSA. kavayaḥ) śumbhamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KSA.
 See Keith's note on TS. While the meaning of *kavaṣaḥ* is quite uncertain, *kavayaḥ* (found also in some TS. mss.) is probably only a graphic lect. fac.

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB. asthām, Poona ed. aśyām) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. See §287.

apāmityam (AŚ. apām ittham) iva sambhara MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. is an absurd graphic blunder.

samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇāratir (AV. °ṇā rathī, ŚŚ. °ṇā rayir) divaḥ AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in ŚŚ.; see §93.

Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character:

*āptye (AV. *apriye, *dviṣate) saṁ nayāmasi RV. AV.* The AV. comm. reads āptye for apriye. But the variant dviṣate suggests that apriye must have been known in very early times; and indeed Ppp. reads*

apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 220). The RV. says: 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya'. The AV. charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character; with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy'. Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dviṣate* would be unintelligible.

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS. *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣām viśipriyāṇām* (VS. ŚB. °*ṇām vo 'ham*) VS. TS. ŚB. *śn(y): pr.* Both words are obscure; Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS. meant the same.

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *n: l.* Possibly phonetic; cf. §273.

khanyābhyah (KSA. *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS. *n: l*; cf. preceding.

anarśarātīm (SV. *alarśirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292. *n: l.*

śaśvat parikupitena (HG. °*pilena*) ApMB. HG. *t: l.* Oldenberg abandons the HG. reading.

abhi yo na irasyati (AV. *no durasyati*) RV. AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp. as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26. 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV., which is antiquated and limited to RV. *du: i.*

aciṣyāma (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūtī* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. *c: bh* (note p.p. of MS.).

CHAPTER XXI. SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f. (nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'), 338 ff. and 359 ff. (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatusstilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful; not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prātiśākhyaś, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which 'confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*; here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittirīya school (often also in KS.). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittirīya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ś*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit:

(a) AV. writes *āv* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr. 2. 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV., AVŚ. shows *ā* for *au* before *u*; Ppp. has the regular *āv*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāṭhaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr. 4. 124; for the practice of VS. see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. *kr̥ṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ. 5. 1. 3. 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. l. On the other hand, at MŚ. 3. 5. 14c Knauer reads *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat*, without any ms. authority; the corrupt mss. are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittiriya texts write *āv* and *av* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr. 10. 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10. 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āv* and *av* should always be written; this is favored by the comm. on TPr., and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss. of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait. school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV., SV. (very few instances), and VS.—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āv* and *av* before other vowels. So RPr. 129 (2.9) and 135 (2. 11); and so VPr. 4. 125 gives the opinion of ‘some’, opposed to its own rule 4. 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize: before *u*-vowels, Tait. texts write *āv* and *av*; AV. writes *āv* for *au* but *a* for *o*; others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr. texts, KS., and VSK. write *ā* and *a*; AV. writes *āv* but *a*; all others *āv* and *av*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b; the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following:
aśvīnau dvyakṣareṇa (MS. KS. °*rayā*) *prāṇāpānāv* (MS. KS. °*nā*) *ud
 ajayatām* TS. MS. KS.

asā (ApŚ. *asāv-asāv*) *upahvayasva* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

asmākaṇi yonā (ApŚ. *yonāv*) *udare suśevāḥ* MS. ApŚ.

imaṁ yaज्ञāṁ juषamāṇā (TB. °ṇāv) *upetam* MS. TB.

upasthe mātuh surabhā (TS. °bhāv) *u loke* RV. TS. MS. KS.

ubhā (AV. ubhāv) *upāṇśu prathamā pibāva* RV. AV.

urūṇasāv (TA. uru°) *asutrpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. ulu°)
RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

kā (TA. kāv, AV. VS. kim) *ūrū pādā* (TA.† pādāv) *ucyete* RV. AV. VS. TA.

The only exception to the rule in AV. Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly.

daivya hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS. MS. °rā ūrdhvam; KS. hotārordhvam)

VS. TS. MS. KS. †18. 17a. In KS. the form *hotārā*, not °rau, is concerned.

na yonā (TS. yonāv) *uषāsā°* VS. TS. MS.

rakṣoṇau (VS. ŚB. °ṇau vāñ) *valagahanā* (TS. ApŚ. °hanāv) *upa°*
... VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

syone kṛṇudhvañ surabhā (TS. °bhāv) *u loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are:

uषṇena vāya (ApMB. vāyav) *udakenehi* (with varr.) AV. SMB. ApMB.
AG. GG. PG.

deva viṣṇa (ApŚ. viṣṇav) *urv* ... PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

divo vā viṣṇa (TS. viṣṇav) *uta vā pṛthivyāḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *divo viṣṇa*
etc. AV. MS.

maho vā viṣṇa (AV. maho viṣṇa) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS. viṣṇav uta vān-
tarikṣāt) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

viṣṇa (TS. ApŚ. viṣṇav) *urukrama* ... VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§888. The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are:

agnāv (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. agnā) *agnis carati praviṣṭaḥ* AV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.; *pratika*, Vait. KŚ. Kauś. GG.
agnīṣomāv (MS. KS. MŚ. °ṣomā) *imaṁ su me* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚŚ.

ajasya nābhāv (MS. KS. nābhā) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

asāv (MS. KS. MŚ. asā) *anu mā* ... MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yaज्ञāpatāv (MS. KS. °tā) *avīhrutam* RV. SV. ArŚ. VS. MS.
KS. LŚ. ApŚ.

imau bhadrau dhuryāv (MS. °yā) *abhi* SV. MS. JB.

usrāv etaṁ ... VS. TS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. KŚ.: *usrā etaṁ* ... VSK. KS.

In MŚ. the rule is violated; no v. l. reported.

gośaphe śakulāv (VSK. °lā) *iva* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

tāv (KS. tā) *ehi saṁ* ... TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. HG. BṛhU.: *tāv iha*
saṁ ... AV.: *tāv ehi* (MG. tā eva) *vi* ... AG. ŚG. PG. MG.:
tāv eha saṁ ... AB.

dīkṣīto 'yam asū āmuṣyāyaṇaḥ MS. MŚ.: *adīkṣīṣṭāyaṇaḥ brāhmaṇo 'sāv amuṣya . . .* ApŚ.

daivya hotārāgnā (KS. AŚ. °gna, ŚŚ. °rā agna) *ājyasya vītam* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Since ŚŚ., if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ., or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*; the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °rau. No v. l. reported for ŚŚ.

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. MS. TB. ŚB. KS.

namucāv (VSK. MS. KS. °cā) *āsura sacā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (MS. KS. dadhā) *idam . . .* TS. MS. KS. But MS. p.p. *dadhe*.

putram iva pitarāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *aśvinobhā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

praiśān sāmīdhenīr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv (KSA. āghārā ājyabhāgā) *āśrutam* TS. KSA.

madharyau stokāv (MS. °kā) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS.

muṣkāv (VSK. muṣkā) *id asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ. °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS. °thām) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ.

yadū carīṣṇū mīlhunāv (MS. °nā) *abhūtām* RV. MS. N.

yo 'sāv (MU. 'sā) *ādītye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv* (MU. 'sā) *aham* VS. MU.

rādhāṁsīt samprācānāv (MS. MŚ. °si °nā) *asaṁ . . .* MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

viṣṇuḥ śipivīṣṭa †ūrāv (VSK. †ūrā) *āsannaḥ* VS. VSK.: *śipivīṣṭa †ūrā āsādyamānaḥ* KS.

sacetasāv (VSK. °sā, MS. samokasau *sacetasā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *samokasāv* (KS. °sā) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś.

samiddhe agnāv (VSK. MS. KS. agnā) *adhi māmahānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

samrājāv (MS. °jā) *asya bhuvanasya rājathaḥ* RV. MS.

sarasvatīm aśvināv (VSK. MS. KS. °nā) *īndram agnim* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

upa (MS. ulā) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvataṁ* (MS. °ṇā ihāgatam) MS. TB. TA.

ṛtena sthūṇāv (MG. ṛtera sthūṇā) *adhi . . .* ApMB. HG. MG.

tena (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāv* (MS. °ṇā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avi*°) RV. MS. TB.

madhuś ca mādhasaś ca vāsantikāv (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

viṣṇūvaruṇā (TB. °ṇāv) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °pā vām) MS. TB.

yāv (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

agnim sve yonāv (VSK. MS. KS. *yonā*) *abhār ukhā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ahāv (MS. KS. *ahā*) *anadatā hate* AV. TS. MS. KS.

ā tasthāv (VSK. MS. KS. *tasthā*) *amṛtam divi* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

indrāvāhāv (KS. °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ* RV. KS.

mitrāvaruṇāv (VSK. °ṇā, MS. *indrāvaruṇā*) *algābhyām* VS. VSK. MS. *vāsantikāv* (KS. *ime vās*°, MS. KS. °tikā) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

śaiśirāv (MS. °rā, KS. *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ* TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *iśaś corjaś ca śāradāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °dā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ubhā dātārāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *iṣām rayīṇām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ko nu vām mitrāvaruṇāv (MS. °ṇā) *ṛtāyan* RV. MS. KB. ŚB.

tapas ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

devī uśāsāv (VSK. MS. °sā) *aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

daivṛyāv (VSK. °yā) *adhvaryū ā gatam* VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

dhanasātāv (VSK. MS. KS. °tā) *ihāratu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

praharṣiṇo (KS. ms. °ṇam, ed. em.) *madirasya made mṛṣāsāv* (KS. °sā) *astu* . . . KS. ApŚ.

mahāntāv (MS. °tā) *indrāvaruṇā mahāvasū* RV. MS.

yajñasya pakṣā (TS. °ṣāv) *ṛṣayo bhavanti* TS. MS. KS.

yat pṛthivyām yad urāv (VSK. MS. KS. *urā*) *antarikṣe* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yā (AV. omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS.† °bhā) *āyatāyām* AV. KS. TB.

yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatnaḥ (TS. °varuṇāv *abhidāsati*) TS. MS.

imau (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °ṇaḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

rājānaḥ samitāv (VSK. MS. KS. °tā) *iva* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

vāyava ārohaṇavāhāv (KSA. °hā) *anadvāhu* TS. KSA.

veṇubhāraṇ girāv (KSA. *girā*) *iva* TS. KSA. TB.

śacyā harī dhanutarāv (KS. °rā) *ataṣṭa* RV. KS.

śukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣmāv (VSK. MS. KS. °mā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śūdrāryāv (VSK. MS. KS. °yā) *asrjyetām* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv (VSK. °nyā) [ahorātre] VS. VSK.

saṁ yāv apnastho (MS. *yā apnaṣtho*) *apaseva janān* RV. MS.

sajoṣasāv (VSK. °sā) *aśvinā daṁsobhiḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.

sahasrasā (RV. also °sām) *medhasātāv* (VSK. °tā) *iva tmanā* RV. (bis) VSK. KB. (This RV. repetition is omitted in *RVRep.*)

somārudrāv (MS. °drā) *iha su mṛḍataṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS.

staumi devāv (MS. KS. *devā*) *aśvinau nāthito jōhavīmi* TS. MS. KS.

hatāghaśaṁsā (TB. °sāv) *ābharadvasū* MS. KS. TB.

hatāghaśaṁsāv (VSK. °sā) *ābhārṣtām vasu vāryāṇi* VS. VSK. TB.

hemantaśiśīrāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *ṛtū* (TS. *ṛtūnām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

hotārāv (VSK. MS. °rā) *indram aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

hotārāv (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *indram prathamā suvācā* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§889. The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are:

ubhayebhyaḥ pra cikītsā gaviṣṭau (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK.

kuvīt su no gaviṣṭaye (MS. KS. *gaiṣṭaye*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK. AB. KB.

eko bahūnām asi manyav īḍitaḥ (AV. *manya īḍitā*) RV. AV.

taṁ tvā ghṛtasnav (VSK. °sna) *īmahe* RV. SV. VSK. ŚB.

tava vāyav (VSK. *vāya*) *ṛtaspate* RV. VS. VSK. ŚB.

niyutvān vāyav (VSK. *vāya*) *ā gahi* RV. ArŚ. VS. VSK.

niyudbhīr vāyav (VSK. MS. KS. *vāya*) *iṣṭaye duroṇe* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

niyudbhīr (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha* . . . AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

maitrāvaruṇasya camasādhvaryav (MŚ. °ya) *ādrava (ehi)* TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

vasaṭ te viṣṇav (KS. *viṣṇa*) *āsa ā kṛṇomi* RV. SV. TS. KS. AŚ.

vy astabhñā (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

sahasah sūnav (MS. KS. *sūna*) *āhuta* RV. TS. MS. KS.

§890. In the following *o* of voc. sing. is retained without change:

sa no mayobhūḥ pīto (AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jørgensen] *pītar*) *āviśasva* (AŚ. *āviścha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB.

tāsv adhvaryav ādhāve° . . . ŚŚ.: *tāsv adhvaryo indrāya* . . . AB. AŚ.

brhaspatisutasya ta (MS. *tā*; KS. omits) *indo* (MS. KS. *inda*) *indri*°
TS. MS. KS.: *brhaspatisutasya deva soma ta inda indri*° VSK.

INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abhinihita*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324; the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhya give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

§893. Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text.'

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV. instances, that:

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight.

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, l. c., p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten; except that at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895. If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

General practice of Vedic texts

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out; perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is: since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts; while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

Evidence of the variants

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases

in the AV.; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr. 138 (2. 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position.

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV., mentioned in §894. Thus: in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases; the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV. are very few (only 5); in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901. The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV., written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7; MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS. (10 to 6) and KS. (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers; they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittiriya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj. school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait. school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr. school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc.	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items):

so *adhvarān* (AV. Kauś. 'dhvarān) *sa rtūn kalpayāti* RV. AV. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. Kauś.

anumate 'nu (KapS.† *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV. 'nv *idam manyasva*)

AV. KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.): *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

nir anum bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB.: *niṣ tam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV.

tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādaḥ AV.† 13. 1. 6: *tasmiñ chiśriye aja ekapāt* TB.

teṣān yo ajyānim (PG. 'jyānim) *ajūtim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajijim*

āvahāḥ, but Jørgensen as other texts) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.

ro akṣare (NṛpU. 'kṣare) *parame vyoman* RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU.

NṛpU. N.

yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti*

jātaḥ PB.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti) VS. TB.

ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.

ye agnayāḥ (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'gnayāḥ) *samanasaḥ* (KS. adds *sacetasaḥ*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

tam tvā viśve avantu (AV. 'vantu) *devāḥ* AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor pāda but intended for triṣṭubh.

yo 'syēse dvīpado yaś catuṣpadaḥ AV.: *ya īše asya* (MS. KS. * *īše yo asya*)
dvīpadaś catuṣpadaḥ RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (both).

vaiśvānaro āṅgirasām (AV. 'ṅgi°, AŚ. *āṅgirobhyaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS. *ahann ojaśine*; KS. †*śukro ahany ojaśye*;
 AŚ. 'hany ojaśinām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

sūryo ahobhīr (KS. *suryo* [misprint] 'hobhīr) *anu tvāvatu* KS. TB.

so asmān (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn*
kṛṇotu ŚŚ.

svām tanvaṁ (TS. TB. *tanvaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *āśīśret*) TS. MS.
 KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS.
 reading to an *anuṣṭubh*.

agnīr ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhīḥ MŚ.: *agnīr amṛto abhavad vayobhīḥ* (KS.
saḥobhīḥ) RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

na tā arvā reṇukakāto aśnute (AV. 'śnute) RV. AV. KS. TB. AŚ. Many
 AV. mss. read *aśnute*.

adhi briwantu te 'vantv (TS. TB. ApŚ. *avantv*) *asmān* RV. AV. VS. TS.
 MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

anīkair dveṣo ardaya (ŚŚ. 'rdaya) MS. ŚŚ.

annaṁ payo reto asmāsu (ŚB. 'smāsu) *dhatta* (MS. ApŚ. *dhehi*) VS. MS.
 KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

anyaṁ te asman (NṛpU. 'sman) *nī vapantu senāḥ* RV. TS. NṛpU.

anyo- 'nyo (Vait.-*anyo*) *bhavati varṇo asya* TB. Vait.

avāsrjo apo (TB. 'po) *achā samudram* RV. MS. KS. TB.

pra vartaya dīvo aśmānam (AV. 'śmānam, v. l. aś°) *indra* RV. AV.

prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (TS. *aviṣyan*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
 ŚB.

namo astu (MŚ. 'stu) *parāyate* AV. MŚ.

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan naḥ MŚ.: *payo vatseṣu payo astu tan mayi*
 AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

ye agnayāḥ pāñcajanyaḥ (MŚ. *purīṣiṇaḥ*) VS. ŚB. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayāḥ*
purīṣyāḥ (KS. °*ṣiṇaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. JUB.

dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.: *dh° sa° abhayaṁ*
kṛṇotu MG.

śīsū krīdantau pari yāto adhvaram (AV. *arṇavam*, and 'rṇavam) RV. AV.
 MS. TB.

namo astu (VS. ŚB. KŚ. PG. NīlarU. 'stu) *sarpebhyaḥ* RVKh. VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. NīlarU.

ye 'do (MS. *amī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. TS. MS. ApMB.

yo asyāḥ prthivyās tvaci TB. ApŚ.: *yo 'syāḥ* (so all mss. but one, and so
 Cone., but ed. † *asyāḥ*) *prthivyā adhi tvaci* MŚ.

yo naḥ svo (AV. *svo yo*) *araṇaḥ* (SV. 'raṇaḥ) RV. SV. AV. AG. ŚG. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 40, thinks of inserting *yo* in RV., tho he fails to note that AV. reads so.

vaiśvānaro adabdhās (AV. *no adabdhās*, TA. *me 'dabdhās*, MS. ApŚ. 'dabdhās) *tanūpāḥ* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB.

ko ambādadata (AŚ. 'mbā°) *dadat* MS. AŚ.

mayā so annam (AV. 'nnam) *atti yo vipaśyati* RV. AV.

indra vājeṣu no 'va (TB. *ava*, KS. *vaha*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. MS. KS. TB.

yad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāḥ MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt* KS. (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

ye agnidagdhā ye anagnidagdhāḥ (TB. Poona ed. † 'nagni°; so v. l. of AV.) RV. AV. TB. AŚ.: *ye agniṣvāttā ye 'nagniṣvāttāḥ* (VS. *anagni°*) VS. TB. ApŚ.

sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *amo aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *āpy amo 'ham*) KS. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *sa tvam asy amo 'ham* AB.

kīkasābhyo anūkyāt (ApMB. 'nū°) RV. AV. ApMB.

te asmat (TS. 'smat) *pāsān pra muñcantv enasaḥ* (TS. *añhasaḥ*) AV. TS.

divo antebhyas (KS. 'nte°) *pari* RV. SV. KS.

yo adya (PB. 'dya) *saumyo* (AV. *senyo*) *vadhaḥ* AV. PB. AŚ.—Ppp. 'dya acc. to Roth.

vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi (TB. 'dhi) KS. TB.: *vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre* AV. *ye anneṣu* (VS. KS. 'nneṣu) *vividhyanti* VS. TS. MS. KS.

varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS. 'dhi) *nāke* TS. KS. TB.

rājā me prāṇo amṛtam (TB. 'mṛtam) VS. † MS. KS. TB.

īdam (KS. *ā mā*) *varco* (AŚ. *rādho*) *agninā* (KS. 'gninā) *dattam āgāt* (AV. *āgan*, KS. *etu*) AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.

vr̥ṣāyamāṇo 'vr̥ṇīta (AV. *av°*) *somam* RV. AV. TB.

śatodaye 'bhimātiśāhe (PG. *abhi°*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG.

kṛṇvāno (KS. *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. † *anyān*, MS. *anyan*, KŚ. † 'nyān) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

śṛṇvanty (PB. °tw) *āpo adha* (PB. 'dhaḥ) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

so adhvarā (AB. 'dhvarā *karati*) *jātavedāḥ* AB. ŚB. Cadenced prose; cf. *kṛṇotu so . . .*

annapate 'nnasya (MS. KS. MŚ. MG. *an°*) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāṇāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. SMB. Intended for *triṣṭubh*.

ayam yo asya yasya ta idam śiraḥ MŚ.: *ayam yo 'sī yasya ta idam śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ.

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ* MŚ.: *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS. °*ṭha*) *ja*° KS. TA. ApŚ. So Conc.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads '*sy*a for MŚ. without v. l.]

[*anamitram no* (VSK. *me*) *adharāk* (AV. °*rāt*) AV. VSK.† KS. Conc. 'dharāk for VSK.]

[*bṛhaspate abhiṣaster* (AV. ed. 'bhi°) *amuñcaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. But read *abhi*° in AV.; see Whitney's note.]

§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: *namo 'stu* (TS. KS. *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU. *nīlaśikhaṇḍāya*) VS. TS. KS. NīlarU. BṛhPDh.

viśvasmai bhūtāya dhruvo (TS. ApŚ. *bhūtāyādhvaro*) *astu* (TS. 'si, MŚ.† 'stu) *devaḥ* (TS. omits) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

ye apsu śadāṁsi (KS. 'psu *sa*°) *cakrire* MS. KS.

ye te 'ryaman (KS. *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a.

vājinām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān VSK.: *vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ.

yo 'gniṁ (AŚ. *agnīṁ*) *hotāram avṛthāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ.†

jātavedo maruto adbhīs (TB. 'dbhis) *tamayitrā* TB. ApŚ.

kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (TA. MahānU. *ati duritāty*) *agniḥ* AV. TA. MahānU.

aghorebhyo 'tha (MS. *atha*) *ghorebhyah* MS. TA. MahānU.

yās ca devyo antān abhito tatantha SMB.: *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss. *tatantha*) MG. See §63. The meter is poor in any case.

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions:

anv adya no anumatiḥ (AV. Kauś. 'nu°) AV. MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

yān agnayo anvatapyanta (TS. 'nva°) *dhiṣṇyāḥ* AV. TS. MS.

ye asmīn (KS. 'smīn) *mahaty arṇave* MS. KS. MŚ.

jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat AV.: *jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG.

jyok śrotre 'dhi (HG. *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV. HG.

antarikṣe adhy (TS. KS. 'dhy) *āsate* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

sarvābhyo abhayaṁ (TB. 'bhayaṁ) *karat* RV. AV. TB. N.

garbho asy (MS. 'sy) *oṣadhīnām* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.—Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48. 38).

tanvo adya (MS. 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV. MS.

vasanto asyāsīd (VS. 'syāsīd) *ājyam* RV. AV. VS. TA. The meter of VS (with *ājiam*) seems easier.

satyam it tan na tvārāṇ (MS. °vaṇ) *anyo asti* (MS. 'sti) RV. MS. KS. TB.

The meter of MS. (*tuāvaṇ*?) is inferior.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

ūrubhyān te aṣṭhivadbhyām (ApMB. 'ṣṭhī°) RV. AV. ApMB.

te asmā agnayo (MS. °ye, v. l. °yo) *draviṇaṁ dattvā* MS. ApŚ.: *te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā* KS. The meter of MS. ApŚ. is very poor.

sviṣṭīm no abhi (KŚ. 'bhi) *vasiyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.: *sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK.† KŚ.† *adityā*; KS. *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ.

eko vo devo apy (AV. 'py) *atiṣṭhat* AV. MS.: *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS. KS.

Only MS. is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced).

bheṣajam gave 'śvāya (MS. *aśvāya*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. LŚ.: *bheṣajam gave 'śvāya puruṣāya* KS. In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically.

mā va eno anyakṛtaṁ bhujema RV.: *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtaṁ bhujema* KS. In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent.

tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante VS. ŚB. (*a* not pronounced): *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS. (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf. KS. in next form; without it *a-nu*° would have to be pronounced): *tām dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK. °dīśya) *yajante* (KS. *anudṛśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB. (*a* pronounced).

anyāns te asman (KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāḥ* MS. KS. Both writings are metrical. VS. TS. have *anyam asman niva*° *tāḥ*, which is inferior to both MS. and KS.

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ. 'po) *aganīgan* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *agamat*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS., where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written.

yo agnau rudro yo apsv antaḥ AV. (intended for triṣṭubh, reading *agnau*, *apsu*, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short): *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psv antaḥ* ŚīrasU. (meant for anuṣṭubh; 'gnau, 'psu): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ. *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu* TS. ApŚ. MŚ. (triṣṭubh; 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing of TS. ApŚ.): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc.) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS. (writing and pronunciation consistent).

so *asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: so 'smān pātu (prose) TS.

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53:

abhayaṁ vo 'bhayaṁ no astu (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *abhayaṁ me astu* (AB.† 'stu) AB. ApŚ.

iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . *dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB.† *dyumna ūrje*) 'patyāya (VS.† ŚB.† *apa°*, TB.† *patyāya*, ApŚ. °*yorjapatyāya*) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

etāni te aghniye (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table; the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or 'ghniye).

vīvarto aṣṭācatvāriṁśaḥ (MS. 'ṣṭā°) MS. KS.: *vīvarto 'ṣṭā°* VS. TS. ŚB. *yo 'smān* (MS. MŚ. *asmān*) *dreṣṭi yaṁ* (AV. adds *ca*) *vayaṁ dviṣmaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. KBU. JUB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh. This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr. school, with 'smān in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc. under it, and also: *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc.; *agne yat te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, śociś, haras)* etc.; *tasya nāmnā rṣcāmi* etc.; *ny ahaṁ tam mṛdyāsam yo ṣasmān* (ApŚ. 'smān) etc. MS. ApŚ.† 6. 18. 2; *abhy ahaṁ tam bhūyāsam* etc.; *prāhaṁ tam atibhūyāsam* (ApŚ. †*abhi°*) etc.; *vy asau yo* etc.; *durmitrās* (or the like) etc.

devānāṁ tvā patnīr devīr . . . *sadhasthe aṅgīrasvad* (TS. 'ṅgi°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *aditiṣ tvā* (°*tis tvā*), *dhiṣaṇās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etc.), *gnās tvā*.

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūṣṇe*, and *dikṣāyai tapase*.

agneḥ (also, *indrasya*, *viśveṣāṁ devānāṁ*) *priyaṁ pātho 'pīhi* (TS. *apīhi*) VS. 8. 50, VSK. 8. 22. 4, TS. ŚB. 11. 5. 9. 12.

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsāt . . . (five formulas) MS.: *agnim* (also, *indraṁ*, *mitrāvaruṇau*, *somaṁ*) *sa* (TB. *sa diśāṁ* . . . *devatānām*) *ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS. °*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. TB. ApŚ.

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'griyāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo agrevadhāya (MS. KS. 'gre°) . . . VS. MS. TS. KS.

namo aparasadbhyaḥ (PB. and v. l. of MŚ. 'para°) PB. MŚ.

namo 'śvebhyo (TS. *aś°*) 'śvapatribhyaś *ca* . . . VS. TS.† MS. KS.

namas te astu (PB. JB. LŚ. SMB. 'stu) VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. PB. JB.

ŚB. TB. TA. TAA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB ApG. Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except in SV. texts, which read *'stu*.

namo vo 'stu (AŚ. ŚŚ. *astu*) VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. SMB. Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB. reads *astu* according to Jørgensen's edition (not in the Conc.), while *'stu* is read by VS. and Vait.

tebhyo namo astu (PG. *'stu*) VS. MS. KS. PG. ŚB.

namo 'gnaya (ApŚ. *agnaya*) *upadraṣṭre* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

namo astu (VS. ŚB. *'stu*) *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS. KS. ŚB. *'ntari°*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Also: *namo astu* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *'stu*) *ru° ye divi* (and, *prṥhivyaṁ*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś (KS. *'rbha°*) *ca* . . . VS. KS.: *namo bṛhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyaś ca* . . . MS. MŚ.

namo rathibhyo arathebhyaś (TS. *'rathe°*) *ca* . . . VS. TS.

yo no anti śapati tam etena jeṣam MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena jeṣam* TS.

rudro 'gnīt (MS. *agnīt*) MS. TA. ŚŚ.

rudro 'dhipatīḥ (MS. *adhi°*) MS. TA.

tasyāpo apsarasa (KS.† *'psa°*, MS. *'psarasā*) *ūrjo nāma* (TS. *'psaraso mudāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

dhūrta (KS. *'te*) *namas te astu* (KS. *'stu*) KS. ApŚ.: *dhūrte namante (?) astu* MS.

pratya etā vāmā . . . *yajamāno 'grabhīd* (ŚŚ. *agra°*) . . . KB. ŚŚ.

prāṇo agniḥ . . . PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇo 'gniḥ* . . . MU.

madhu hutam indratame agnau (LŚ. *'gnau*) VS. ŚB. LŚ.: *hutaṁ havir* . . . *indratame 'gnau* MS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

ye devā divībhāgā (MS. *°gāḥ stha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS. KS. *'ntari°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

śivaṁ prajābhyo 'hiṁsantam (KS.† *ahiṁ°*) . . . *sadhasthe* (VS. ŚB.° *sthād*) *agniṁ* (TS. *'gniṁ*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.—KS. punctuates before *agniṁ*, so that elision of *a* is impossible.

sajūr abdo ayavobhiḥ (TS. ApŚ. *'yāvabhiḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

samidhaḥ-samidho 'gne-'gna (ŚŚ. *°dho agna*; MŚ.† *°dho 'gnā*) *ājyasya vyantu* AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *samidho agna* (MS. *agnā*) *ājyasya* . . . MS. KS. TB. MŚ.

sūyame me adya . . . ApŚ.: *sūyame me 'dya* . . . MS.

agnir adhi viyatto asyām KS.: *agnir viyatto 'syām* TS.

agne yat te 'rcis (MS. *arcis*) *tena* . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

aṅgirasas me asya (KS. *'sya*) *yajñasya prātaranuvākair ahaṣuḥ* MS. KS.

taṁ (KS.† *tat*) *twendragraha* . . . *saha yaṁ me 'sti* (ApŚ. *asti*) *tena* KS.
ApŚ.: *taṁ tvā pra viśāmi* . . . *saha yaṁ me 'sti tena* AV.

diśo abhy abhūd ayam MS. KS. MŚ.: *diśo 'bhy ayam rājābhūt* TS. TB.
Semblance of meter; perhaps to be classed with metrical variants.
antimitraś (TS. *antyami*°) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS. *'mitraś*) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS.
TS. MS. KS.

andho achetah (TS. ApŚ. *'chetah*) VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. Ed. of KS. *'chetah*,
but the sole ms. *aśchetah*.

apāgne agnim (TS. MS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. *'gnim*) *āmādam jahi* VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

apsu dhautasya . . . *yo aśvasanis* (KS. *'śva*°) . . . MS. KS.: . . . *yo*
bhakṣo aśvasanir . . . TS.

aśvibhyāṁ tirohniyānāṁ (MŚ. *tirohniyānāṁ*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ.
MŚ. Also: *tirohniyān* (MŚ. *aśvibhyāṁ tirohniyān*) *somān pras-*
thitān preṣya ApŚ. MŚ.

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS. ŚB. *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS. *'dhvare sthāḥ*, ApŚ.
adhvare sthāt) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

āpo devīr agrepuvo agrepuvo . . . TS. TB.: *devīr āpo 'greguvo 'greṇīyo*
. . . MS. MŚ.: *devīr āpo agrepuvaḥ preman* . . . KS.

ye devāḥ puraḥsado (so also TS., for which Conc.† *paraḥ*°) *'guinetṛā*
(MS. *agni*°) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh.

dhūrva taṁ yo 'smān dhūrvati VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo*
asmān dhvarāt MS.

agnis te 'gram . . . TS.: *agniṣ te agram* . . . MŚ.

somo 'smākaṁ (KS. *asm*°) *brāhmaṇānāṁ rājā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ (AV. *antar*°; GG.† *'ntarī*°) AV. ApŚ.
MŚ. GG. HG.

yo asmi so asmi AV.: *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS. KS. AB.: *yo 'ham asmi sa*
san yaje TB. ApŚ.

tutho ro viścavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS. *'dhi*) *nāke* . . . TS. MŚ.
KS.

nirasto aghaśaṁsaḥ (ApŚ. *'gha*°) KS. ApŚ.

[*devo narāśaṁso 'gnau* (ŚŚ.† *'gnū*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ. ŚŚ.
Conc. quotes *agnū* for ŚŚ.]

[*yena turyeṇa brahmaṇā brhaspataye 'pavathās* . . . JB.: *yena rūpeṇa*
prajāpataye †*vapathās* (Conc. *ava*°) . . . KS.]

§911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and
initial *a* occur among the variants. For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-
tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338. In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple:

tve ā (SV. *twayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. A loc. in RV. is replaced by an instr. in SV., with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*.

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. Followed by: *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV. reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc. we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*:

dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣa VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.; the Conc. quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antarikṣa*, not **kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarikṣam* AV. TS.

SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rīg-vedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*. This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2. 11) and VPr. 4. 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change).

§914. Taittirīya texts and KS. write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr. 10. 8. So does LŚ. in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APr. 3. 46 is like that of TPr., *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r*. But the mss. of AV., according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant; when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *svarabhakti*, Whitney on APr. 1. 101). There are exceptions in the mss., and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss. or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc.) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss., namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r*. Both Vait. and Kauś. sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows; the instances recorded are few.

§916. Maitrāyaṇīya texts regularly write *ā-r* and *a-r* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*; so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (°*yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *r* in MS.; these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919: *yatrā rṣayo jagmuḥ* and *yenā rṣayas tapasā* . . . There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-r* in MS.:

savitre tvarbhumate (VS. ŚB. *tva rbhu*°; MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS. variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *svarbhū*°; but p.p. *tvā, rbhu*°. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *r*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS.; attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *r*:
savitre tvarbhumate (VS. ŚB. *tva rbhu*°, MS. *tvarbhū*°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. See §916.

yad dīdayac chavasa (MS. °*yañ śavasa*; TS. °*sā*) *rtaprajāta* (KS. *chav-asarta*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. This is the only case in which MS. shortens *ā* to *a*; see §916. The TS. reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait. practice.

dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha rtuḥ (TS. KSA. *tathartuḥ*, MŚ. *tathā rtuḥ*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. MŚ.

agnijihvebhyas (MS. *agnihvarebhyas*) *tvartāyubhya[h]* (MS. *tvā rtā*°) . . . TS. MS. KS.

yatha rṇaṁ saṁnayāmasi (AV. *yatharṇaṁ saṁnayanti*) RV. AV.

yatha rtava (AV. TA. *yathartava*) *rtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV. *sākam*, TA. *klptāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

svāha rṣabham (MS. *svāhā rṣ*°, TB. *svāharṣ*°) . . . VS. MS. TB.

viśvakarma rṣiḥ (MS. °*mā rṣiḥ*, KS. °*marṣiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tapasarṣayah (MahānU. °*saṣṣayah*) *swar* (TB. *svaṛ*) *anravindan* TB. TA.

MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ. 6. 1. 128.

yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih AV.: *yo vān ratha ṛjuraśmih satyadharmā* TS. MS. KS. Here only AV. has this sandhi; the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju*°. Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju*°, with double crasis, even in the YV. texts.

[*viśvādhiko rudro maharṣih* (TA. Conc. *maharṣih*, but Poona ed. correctly *maharṣih*) TA. MahānU.]

§919. The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *r*:

yatra ṛṣayo (MS. *yatrā* *r*°, KS. *yatrar*°) *jagmuḥ* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. On the MS. forms of this and the next cf. §916.

yena ṛṣayas (MS. MŚ. *yenā* *r*°, TS. KS. ApŚ. *yenar*°) *tapasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

yatrarṣayah (Kauś. *yatra ṛṣ*°) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś. °*jāḥ*, om. *ye*) *purāṇāḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś.

śāradena (also, *śaiśireṇa*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS. TB. °*nar-tunā*) . . . VS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ.

ṛtuṣṭhā (MS. °*āḥ*, KS. °*ās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (KS. *sthartusprśah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ṛtava (KS. °*vas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (KS.† *sthartā*°) VS. KS. ŚB.: *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhaḥ* TS.

medhān sapta ṛṣayo (ApMB. *saptar*°) *daduḥ* ApMB. RVKh. But Scheftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh.

svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpṇuta ṛbhavaḥ (TB. [so Poona ed.] ApŚ. *tṛpṇu-tarbhavaḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

brāhmaṇam adya ṛdhyāsam (KS. *adyardh*°) . . . MS. KS. MŚ.

tasya ṛksāmāny (TS. KS. *tasyark*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tvām adya ṛṣa āṛṣeya ṛṣīṇām (KS.† TB. *adyarṣa āṛṣeyarṣīṇām*) . . . VS. MS. KS. TB.

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB. *avartyai ṛvadhā*°, so Poona ed.) VS. TB.

yathāhaṇi bharata ṛṣabha (ŚŚ. *bharatarṣ*°) AB. ŚŚ. The only irregular case in ŚŚ. or any RV. text among the variants. No v. l. is recorded.

yebhyo na ṛte (TS. KS. *narte*) *pavate dhāma kimicana* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

varuṇasya ṛtasadanam (KŚ. °*syarta*°) *asī* VS. KS. ŚB.

varuṇasya ṛtasadany (ApŚ. °*syarta*°) *asī* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.

ṛtīyasya savanasya ṛbhumatō (ApŚ. °*nasyarbhū*°) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

tenarṣiṇā (MS. AŚ. *tena ṛṣiṇā*) . . . TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

śrūta ṛṣim (TB. *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhimātiṣāham* RV. MS. TB.

śivo me saptarṣīn (KŚ. MŚ. *sapta ṛṣīn*) . . . TS. Vait. KŚ. MŚ. Note *ar* in Vait. even before a sibilant; cf. §915.

satyaś (VS. *śukraś*) *ca ṛtapāś* (TS. KS. *carta*°) *cātyaṅhāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. *saptarṣayaḥ* (VS. MS. *sapta ṛ*°) *sapta dhāma priyāṇi* VS. TS. MS. KS.

TB. In TS. 1. 5. 3. 2b *sapta ṛṣ*° is read without sandhi merely because a *kaṇḍikā* ends here; it is no real exception to the rule.

sapta ṛṣayo (TS. KS. *saptar*°) *'srjyanta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

saptarṣīṇām (ApŚ. Kauś. *saptar*°) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* Vait. KŚ. MŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. Note *ar* in Kauś. even before a sibilant (one ms. *ar*); cf. §915.

saptarṣīn (ApŚ. *saptarṣīṇ*) *jinva* ApŚ. KŚ.

upahūtā dhenuḥ (ŚB. *gāvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB. °*bhāḥ*, AŚ. ŚŚ.† *saharṣabhā*) TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Irregular sandhi in ŚB.

upa mā (AŚ. ŚŚ. *mām*) *dhenuḥ saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *saharṣ*°) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāṛḍhānaḥ TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhuhir brahmaṇā saṁvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhiḥ (KS. *saharṣ*°) RV. AV. KS. ApMB. In ApMB. we must certainly read *saharṣibhiḥ* with four mss., in accord with Tait. usage; Winternitz prints *saha ṛ*° with only one ms.

upa ṛṣabhasya (TB. LŚ. *uparṣ*°) *retasi* (AV. *yad retah*) RV. AV. TB. LŚ.

indrāya ṛṣabheṇa VS.: *indrāyarṣabheṇāśvibhyām sarasvatyai* TB.

ṛṇān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān ṛpsamānaḥ* MS. Only AV. has this sandhi (*na, ṛṇam*); the others *nas, ṛ-*.

yatrā sapta ṛṣīn (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

yathaika ṛṣir (KS. °*karṣir*) *viḥṇate* KS. TA. ApŚ. Only KS. has this sandhi; the others *eka(h) ṛṣir*, two words.

SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light. School tendencies are seldom discernible; when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence.

I. Final *n* before initial vowels

§921. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre-historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*. These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics; they hardly belong in this place.

1. Final *ān* before vowels

§922. The Prātiśākhya in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3. 141, APr. 2. 27) make *anusvāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions; Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains *n*. TPr. 9. 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains *n* five times out of six.

§923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show *anusvāra* more often than *n*; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts, when they change *n* to *anusvāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last).

§924. The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

agniṣ ṭān (MS. † *ṭaṇ*, KS. † *ṭāṇ*, TS. TA. *agnis tāṇ*) *agre pra* . . . AV. TS.

MS. KS. TA. The same with *vāyuṣ* (AV. † *ṭān*).

agne devān (MS. *devaṇ*, ŚG. *devān*) *iḥā vaha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

aty anyān (VS. ŚB. *anyāṇ*) *agāṁ nānyān* (VS. ŚB. *nānyāṇ*) *upāgām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ.

athā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. twice † *°nāṇ*; TS. twice † *°nāṇ*, once *°nān*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

asmān (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā* . . . RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS.

iḍāsmān anu vastāṁ ghr̥tena ApŚ. MŚ.: *iḍaivāsmān anu vastāṁ vratena* AV.

unnayāmi svān (MS. *svaṇ*, AV. *svān*) *aham* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

etat traṇ deva soma . . . *devān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *devān*) *upāgāḥ* VS. KS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: . . . *devān upāvṛtaḥ* MS.

kr̥ṇvāno (KS. *kurvāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. † *anyāṇ*, KŚ. *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

jambhayaṣ (KS. *°yebhis*) *taskarān* (KS. *°rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.: *jambhābhyāṁ taskaraṇ* (p.p. *°rān*) *uta* MS.

puroḍāśān (MŚ. *°śaṇ*, GB. Vait. *°śān*) *alanikuru* TS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt TS.: *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat MS.:*
maiṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt KS.

yān (AV. TS. MS. KS. Vait. yān) āvaha uśato deva devān AV. VS. TS.
MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Vait.

yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta AV.: *yāś ca devīr (SMB. devyo) antān etc.*
ApMB. SMB. HG.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān etc. MG.*

rakṣohāmitrān (VS. °trān) apabādhamānaḥ RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.
KS.

vājo devān (MS. KS. devān) rtubhiḥ kalpayāti VS. TS. MS. KS.

sarvān (MS. °vañ) agnīnr apsuṣado huve vaḥ (MS. omits vaḥ) TS. MS.
AV.: *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe AV.*

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś.: *sarvān ava yajāmahe KS.† TB. TAA. ApŚ.*
so asmān (MŚ. asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatīn*
kṛṇotu ŚŚ.

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati AV.*

§925. Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following:

agnīḥ pravīdvān (MS. °vañ, KS. °vāñ) iha tat . . . MS. KS. ApŚ.

iḍāvān (MS. °vān) eṣo asura prajāvān RV. TS. MS. KS.

iṣṭo yajño bhrgubhir . . . āśīrvān (ApŚ. °vān) atharvabhiḥ KS. ApŚ.

cikītvān (MŚ. °vān) anu manyatām TS. KS. MŚ.

pumān enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti RV.: *pumān enad vayatya udgrṇatti AV.*

viśalyo vāṇavān (TS. MS. KS. bā°; MS. °vañ, v. l. °vān; KS. NilarU.
°vān) uta VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU.

payasvān (TS. TB. ApMB.° vāñ) agna āgamam AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

pra yo jajñe vidvān (AV. vidvān) asya bandhum (AV.° dhuh) AV. TS. KS.
haviṣmān (KS. °mān) astu sūryaḥ VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

[*adha tvīṣīmān abhy ojasā . . . RV. SV.† (Conc. tvīṣīmān for SV.)*]

§926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form:

savitā jyotir ud ayān (KS. ayān, MS. ayañ) aśasram RV. VS. TS. MS.
KS. ŚB.

2. Final *īn* and *ūn* before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr. 239 (4. 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr*. The other Prs. allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV. See APr. 2. 29 and Whitney's note; TPr. 9. 20 and Whitney's note; VPr. 3. 140. The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions:

sarvān (MS. °vañ) agnīnr apsuṣado huve vaḥ (MS. omits vaḥ) TS. MS.
AB.: *śivān agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe AV.*

padā paṇīnr (SV. *paṇīn*) *arādhasaḥ* RV. SV. AV.

ṛtūnr (TB. *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.

ṛtūn (AV. *ṛtūnr*) *utsrjate vaśi* AV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

[*tisro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS. °*yañs*) *trīnr uta dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

In this variant the printed text of MS. reads †*trīnr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīnr*. This reading, which the Cone. ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr*.]

3. Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems:

asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy . . . AV.: *asmin brahmaṇy asmin kṣatre* (ŚŚ. adds '*smin karmaṇy*) . . . KS. ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmann* . . . *asmin karmann* (PG. *karmaṇy*) . . . TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmaṇy asyāñ purodhāyām asmin karmaṇy* . . . MS.

ātman (IśāU. °*ny*) *evānupaśyati* VS. IśāU.

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS. *ahann ojaśine*; KS.† *śukro ahany ojaśye*; AŚ. '*hany ojaśinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

[*divye dhāmann* (once °*ny* acc. to Conc.) *upahūtaḥ* (once °*tā*) TB. (both). But Poona ed. *dhāmann* both times.]

[*trītye dhāmany abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TS. MahānU. So Conc., but TA. MahānU. both have *dhāmāny*, acc. plur.]

One isolated case concerning verb forms:

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agniḥ*) . . . KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 51.

II. Final *n* before initial consonants

§929. Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV.

1. Final *n* before *c*

§930. RPr. 228 (4. 4) requires *ñ*; but numerous exceptions are mentioned; cf. 293f. (4. 32). VPr. 3. 133 and APr. 2. 26 require *ñś*, and so does TPr. 5. 20f., with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr. l. e. says that this rule is universally followed in the mss. and text of AV., a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV. be excluded from consideration (the Pr. in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV. 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are:

acikivāñ (AV. °vāñś) *cikituṣaś cid atra* RV. AV.
anaḍvāñś (TS. °vāñ) *ca me* VS. TS. KS.: *dhenuś cānaḍvāñś ca* MS. MŚ.
asmāñś (RV. KS. *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV. MS. KS. Most
 mss. of MS. *asmāñ* (with dental *n*); v. l. of KS. *asmāñś*.
ghoṣeṇāmīvāñś cātayata (PB. °mīvāñ *cātayadhvam*) TB. PB. ApŚ.
tām airayañś candramasi svadhābhiḥ MS. KS.: *yām airayañś* (TS. ° *yañ*)
 etc. VS. TS. ŚB.
mahaḥ pituñ papivāñ (AV. 20, °vāñ) *cārv annā* RV. AV.
vajriñ (AV. 20, SV. *vajriñ*) *citrābhīr ūtibhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS.
asmāñ (SV. *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avatād abhiṣṭibhiḥ* RV. SV.

2. Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also. RPr. 295 (4. 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr. 6. 14. In the few variants found, the RV. and TS. schools, and KS., generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APr. 2. 26 and VPr. 3. 134 require *ñs*, tho both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith; and Maitr. texts seem also to favor *ñs*. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings *n* and *ñs*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below; probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*.

§932. The following variants occur;

agnīr āyusmāñ sa vanaspatibhiḥ āyusmāñ (PG. KS. °māñś) *tena* (KS. *tasyā*) . . . TS. KS. PG. ApMB. (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*).
aśmañś (KS. *aśman*) *te kṣut* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
īhaiva san tatra sato vo agnayaḥ TB.: *īhaiva san* (MŚ. *sañś*) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB. AŚ. MŚ.
tasmin (Vait. MŚ. °miñś) *tad eno* . . . RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ.
tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (MŚ. °yañś) *trīñr* (MS. text †*trīñr*) *uta dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.
paśūñś (RV. *paśūñ*) *tāñś cakre vāyavyāñ* RV. AV. VS. TA.
pūṣaṇ (ŚB. TB. *pūṣaṇś*) *tava vrate vayam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
śarman (MS. *śarmañś*) *te syāma* . . . MS. KS. TA.: *tava syāma śarmañś trivarūtha* . . . VS.: *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* . . . TS.
dhāman (AG. *dhāmañ*) *te viśvam* . . . RV. VS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG.
brahmañś (MS. KS. *brahmāñś*) *tvañ* (MŚ. *tvañ me*) *brahmāsi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *brahmāñ* (TB. °māññ) *tvañ rājan brahmāsi* TS. TB. ApŚ. (in the last with punctuation after *brahmāñ*).

[*brahman tvam asi* . . . MahānU.; acc. to Conc. *brahmaṇ* etc. in TA.; but the Poona ed. of TA. reads *brahman*.]

3. Final *n* before *j*

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhya: RPr. 228 (4. 4), APr. 2. 11, TPr. 5. 24, VPr. 4. 92. For *ñ* the spelling *ṇ* occurs very commonly in mss. of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. mss., according to Whitney (note to APr. 1. c.), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed.; Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *ṇ* in all the AV. variants; and also in SV. in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS. once *ñ*.) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934. The variants from VS. and ŚB., following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear; his note on VPr. 1. c. (*ISt.* 4. 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss. follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss. keep dental *n*; if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS. and ŚB. on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm. on VPr. 4. 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayaṁ vājāñ jayatu*, VS. 5. 37, which Weber prints *vājān*.

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MŚ. 1. 6. 3. 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *grhāñ jugupataṁ yuvam* with a majority of his mss., but against that which he regards as the best; its reading is *grhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS. passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS. usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc., below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *ṇ* (cf. above).

§936. The following are the variants:

adyā devāñ (VS. *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA.
ahīñś ca sarvān (TS. KS. *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS. °*ya*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
āyusmāñ (PG. ApMB. °*māñ*; RVKh. VS. °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* . . . RVKh.
 AV. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmān* for
 RVKh. The mss. of PG. have corruptly *āyusyam*.

kam agaṇ (AV. *agaṇ*) *janayopanaḥ* RV. AV. N.
garbhah samjāyase punaḥ MS.: *garbhe saṇ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. *saṁ-*) *j° p°*
 RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.
tam arcīṣā sphūrjayaṇ (AV. *°yaṇ*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.
tvam etāṇ (AV. *etāṇ*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV. AV
te asmin (TS. KS. *asmiṇ*) *javam ādadhuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
devān (RV. TB. *devāṇ*) *jigāti sumnayuḥ* RV. MS. ŚB. TB.
paśyaṇ (AV. *°yaṇ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV. AV. ArS. N.
pitṛṇ (KŚ. *pitṛn*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ojasā pitṛbhyah*
pitṛn jinva MS.
prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ MS.: *prajā vikṛṇvaṇ* (ApŚ. *vikurvaṇ*)
janayan virūpam (ApŚ. *°pāḥ*) KS. ApŚ.
praty ajātān (AV. *°tān*, TS. KS. TA. *°tāṇ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV. VS.
 VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.
māre asman maghavaṇ (SV. *°vaṇ*) *jyok kaḥ* RV. SV.
yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KŚ.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.:
yasyās te ghora āsan ju° VS. ŚB.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsaṇ ju°* TS.
 ApŚ. Exception in KS.
yāṇs (TA. Poona ed. *†yās*) *te soma prāṇāṇs tān* (Poona ed. *tān*; MahānU.
tāṇ) *juhomi* TA. MahānU.
vibhrājaṇ (AV. SV. *°jaṇ*) *jyotiṣā svaḥ* RV. AV. SV.
vṛtrāṇi vṛtrahaṇ (AV. *°haṇ*) *jahi* RV. AV.
satyāṇṛte avapaśyaṇ (AV. *°yaṇ*; MS. *°yan*) *janānām* RV. AV. TS. MS.
 ApMB. This is quoted by APr. 2. 11 as an example of *ṇ* before *j*!
saptarṣiṇ (KŚ. *saptarṣin*) *jinva* KŚ. ApŚ.
[grhān (MŚ. *grhāṇ*, read *grhān*, see above, §935) *jugupataṁ yuvam* MS.
 MŚ.]

4. Final *n* before *ś*

§937. Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires *ñ*, which however is often written *ṇ*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV. and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV. Saṁhitās, TS. alone has this regular *ñ-ch*; MS. and VS. keep *ś* unchanged, MS. writing *ñ* before it and VS. *ṇ*; the sole ms. of KSA. reads like VS., but von Schroeder emended to *ñ-ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant:

ādityāṇ chmaśrubhiḥ (VS. and ms. of KSA. *°tyāṇ śma°*, MS. *°tyāṇ śma°*)
 VS. TS. MS. KSA.

asmiñ (AV. *asmiñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV. AV.
tām naḥ pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. *pūṣaṇ*)
chi° . . . RV. AV. ApMB.
divi ṣaṇ (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *san*) *chukra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.
maghavañ (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc. °*vañ*, TB. Poona ed. °*vañ*) *chagdhi*
. . . . RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU.
yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra jinva RV.: *yāvacchreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ*
chūra . . . AV.
yat te rājañ (AG. *rājañ*) *chṛtaṁ haviḥ* RV. AG. ŚG.
sūro na rurukvāñ (SV. °*vāñ*) *chatātmā* RV. SV.
parārciṣā mūradevāñ (AV. °*vāñ*) *chrñhi* RV. AV.
pratyañcam arkam anayañ (AV. °*yañ*) *chacibhiḥ* RV. AV.
śataṁ hemantāñ (AV. °*tāñ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV. AV. N.

5. Final *n* before *s*

§938. Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr. 2. 9 and TPr. 5. 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr. 236 (4. 6); cf. the divergent views recorded in VPr. 4. 14f. It is quite common in all texts; likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *ñ* before *s*. Cf. Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*; most of them concern *san*: *sañ*, in the latter case the preposition *sañ* being felt as involved.

brahman (LŚ.* *brahmañ*) *stoṣyāmaḥ praśāstaḥ* KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
Vait. LŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

sasavān san (MS. *sañ*) *stūyase* . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The p.p. of MS. *san*; all sañh. mss. *sañ*. The other texts all actually read *sant*, except KS. *san*.

pumāñsañ vardhatāñ mayi ŚG. (Conc. says that this is an error for *pumāñ sañvar*°, but the text is correct; see §97): *pumān sañ-vartatāñ mayi* PG.

jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB. °*nā sañ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *k* is alternatively added after final *ñ* before *s*: *pratyañ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.* TB. *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (with var.) AV. VS. VSK. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB. *pratyañ*.

prāñ (VS. TB. *prāñk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Again Poona ed. of TB. *prāñ*.

6. Final *n* before *p*

§940. The only cases noted concern *nṛñṣ* or *nṛñḥ* for *nṛn*; since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965.

7. Final *n* before *k*

§941. Only a single case has been noted; AV. writes *jayaṁ* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc. would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography: *saṁjayan* (AV. ed. *jayaṁ*) *kṣetrāṇi* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

8. Final *n* before *y*

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr. 3. 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

dadhanvān (MS. KS. °vān; VS. ŚB. TB. °vā) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

9. Final *n* before *l*

§943. Two variants:

agniṣ ṭān (VS. *ṭān*, AŚ. *ṭāl*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (etc.) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agniṣ ṭān asmāt* . . . AV. MŚ. Inconsistent with RPr. 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b; the VS. reading also inconsistent with VPr. 4. 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf. further APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5. 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts.

eṣa me 'muṣmiṇ (GB. *'muṣmiṇl*, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB. GB.† 2. 5. 8.

[*viṣṇus tryaksareṇa trīṇl lokān* (VSK. *trīn imāṇl lokān*; TS.† *trīṇ lokān*) . . . VS. VSK. TS.]

10. Final *n* before *v*

§944. One variant:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśivān*) *voce* RV. SV. N. Cf. RPr. 287 (4. 28), APr. 2. 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *ṇ*

§945. The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *ṇ* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word. (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *ṇ*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170.)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable; one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles.

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *ṇ*, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to *ṇ*; but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants.

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittirīya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV. and MS., which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *ṇ*; and yet, as we have said, Tait. texts generally favor lingualization.

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*:

svar ṇa (TS. ApŚ. *suvar na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* *gharma*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *jyotiḥ*, *śukraḥ*, *sūryaḥ*, *arkaḥ*; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.). Only TS. has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ.)

svar ṇa (TS. *suvar na*) *jyotiḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

asya sulasya svar na (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṇa*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

āśīr ṇa (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ūrjam* . . . AV. MS. Vait. MŚ.

anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS. *ṇu*) RV. VS. MS. KS. The mss. of MS. read corruptly *nakṛṇu*; p.p. *nakih*, *tu*.

vṛtratūr no (TB. *ṇo*) . . . MS. TB. (two variants in the same passage).

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word:

pra ṇa naya vasyo acha RV.: *pra no naya prataram vasyo acha* RV.

pra ṇa (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *āyūṇṣi* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. VSK. MS.

KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.

pra na (SV. *na*) *indo* . . . RV. SV.

pra naḥ (SV. *naḥ*) *pinva* . . . RV. SV.

pra nu (TA. ApMB. HG. *nu*, Kauś. *no*, read *nu*) *vocaṁ cikituṣe janāya* RV. TA. SMB. ApMB. Kauś. PG. HG. MG. Jørgensen reads *nu* for SMB., but with v. l. *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read in accord with the usage of SV. texts.

pra no (also, *no*) *jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśaḥ* Kauś. (both)

pra no (TS.† JUB. *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. JUB. Conc. wrongly *no* for TS. 5. 5. 7. 5. Note JUB. *no*, contrary to SV. usage.

pra no (TB. *no*) *navyebhis* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB

pra no (AV. TS. *no*) *yachatv aryamā* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

pra no (AV. TS. *no*) *yacha* (KS. *rāsva*) *viśaspate* (AV. *viśām*°, TS. *bhuvas*°, VS. ŚB. *sahasrajit*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

parainān (AV. °*nān*) *devaḥ savitā dadātu* RV. AV.

pari naḥ (SV. *naḥ*) *śarmayantyā* RV. SV.

pari no (SV. *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV. SV.

pari no (VS. MS. *no*) *rudrasya* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pari no hetī rudrasya* . . . RV. VSK.: *pari no heḍo* . . . RV.

ataś cid indra na (SV. *na*) *upa* RV. SV. ŚŚ.

indra eṇaṁ (KS. *enaṁ*) *prathamō adhyatiṣṭhat* RV. VS. TS. KS.

indra eṇaṁ (AV. *enaṁ*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.

sam indra no (AV. MS. KS. Kauś. *no*) *manasā* . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. Kauś.

sumitrā (etc.) *na* (KS. *na*) *āpa* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

uruṣyā no (MS. *no*) *aghāyataḥ samasmāt* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. N.

tebhīḥ (RV. also *tena*) *somābhi* (TA. °*bhī*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *naḥ*) RV. (*bis*) TA.

śikṣā no (TS. *no*!) . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. AB. Note that TS. per-versely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency.

devīḥ (AV. *dai*°, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ* (only RV. *naḥ*; AV. ed. *naḥ*, but read *naḥ*, see Whitney's note; KS.† *nas*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB.

asthūri nau gārhapatyāni . . . MS. KS.: *tayor* (ApŚ. *tayor nāv*) *asthūri* (MŚ. °*ri nau*) *gārḥ*° . . . ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *asthūri nau gārhapatyāni* . . . Kauś.: *asthūri nau* (VSK. *no*; ŚŚ. *no*) *gārhapatyāni* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asthūri no* (TS. TB. *no*, KS. *nau*, MŚ. [van Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. In the first-quoted version, the two best mss. of MS. read *nau*, in accord with MS. usage; but the MŚ. form of it (*tayor* etc.) has *nau* according to all Knauer's mss.

§951. (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV. just as in simple words: Wackernagel I §170.

§952. We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n*- compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions; Wackernagel I §169). When SV. shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS. twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*; and the *n* of *nāsatya* is twice lingualized, once in VS. and once in MS. (! despite the tendency of MS. to avoid lingualization):

abhi pra ṇonumo (SV. *no*^o) . . . RV. SV. SV.

abhi pra ṇonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) . . . RV. SV.

tvām abhi pra ṇonumaḥ (SV. *no*^o) RV. SV. KB.

pra nāmāni (TS. *ṇā*^o) . . . RV. TS. MS. KS.

athainam jarimā nayet HG.: *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV.

tasmād vār nāma (TS. *ṇāma*) . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā (VS. *ṇā*^o) RV. VS. AŚ.

nāsatyā (MS. *ṇā*^o) *bhiṣajāśvinā* VS. MS. TB. Preceded in all by *bhiṣaṇ*, which may be meant for part of this pāda.

punar āgāḥ punarṇava (AV. *ṇava*, and *ṇavaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

uṣṭro ghrṇīvān vārdhrīnasas (MS. *ghrṇāvān vārdhrīnasas*) . . . VS. MS.:

grḍhrah śītikakṣī vārdhrānasas (KS. ms. *vārḥīnasas*, ed. em. *vārdhrī*^o)

. . . TS. KSA.

sahasraṇīthaḥ (SV. *ṇīthaḥ*) *padavīḥ kavīnām* RV. SV.

§953. Of the rest, in which *ṇ* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases:

sādhyebhyaś carmamṇam (VS. *ṁnam*) VS. VSK. TB. The form *ṁna* occurs in RV.

agne deva paṇibhir vīyamāṇaḥ (MS. MŚ. *ṇaḥ*; VS. ŚB. *guhīyamāṇaḥ*;

KS. *idhyamāṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. TB.

abhūr āpīnām (HG. *ṇām*, v. l. *ṇām*) . . . ApMB. HG.

dyutadyubhir namasyair iyāṇā MS.: *mitajñubhir namasyair iyāṇā* RV.

devaśrīḥ śrīmanāḥ (VSK. TS. *ṇāḥ*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agneḥ purīṣavāhanaḥ (MS. *purīṣya*^o; VS.† ŚB.† *ṇāvāhanaḥ*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB.

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due:

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi; in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental:

suṣumṇaḥ (TS. N. °*naḥ*) *sūryaraśmiḥ* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS.

N. there is thought of the simple *sumnaḥ*.

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound; in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized:

amṛṇmayam (ApŚ. *amṛn*°) . . . TB. ApŚ.

FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules: RPr. 349 requires *ṣ* regularly before *tvā* and *te* (but cf. 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr. 2. 84, 85 also makes *ṣ* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions; according to Whitney, *ṣ* is commoner in AV. VPr. 3. 75, 76 (cf. 79ff.) likewise makes *ṣ* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr. 6. 5 allows the change to *ṣ* in only a few specified cases.

§956. Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ṣ* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh. kennen solches *ṣ* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV. gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen.' This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV. shows *ṣ* for RV. *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns:

dhanuṣ tanvanti (RV. *dhanus ta*°) *pauṇsyaṃ* RV. SV.

uṣā apa svasus tamaḥ (SV. †*svasuṣ tamaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. AŚ.

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns. (Cf. *agneṣ tvā tejasā sūryasya* . . . MG., to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows: *agnes tejasā sūryasya* . . . MS. KS. AB. TB. TA.) They show that the schools of RV., AV., VS., and TS. follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhyas to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV., and that is exceptional in showing *ṣ*; but the RV. school texts show 12 cases of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*. AV. shows 4 of *ṣ* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS. has 17 to 2, and other Vāj. texts (incl. VSK.) 22 to 1. TS., on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*; but KS. also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ṣ*. SV. itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each. MS. is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS. is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ. and MG.). Summarizing: the schools of RV., AV., VS., and MS. regularly write *ṣ*; that of TS. always, and KS. usually, *s*; the variants from SV. are indecisive.

§958. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns:

añśur-añśus te (TS. KS. ApŚ. °śus te) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS. MS.

KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

agnis te 'graṁ (MŚ. *agnis te agraṁ*) . . . TS. MŚ.

agnis te tanvaṁ . . . MŚ.: *agnis te tanvaṁ* (KS. *tanvaṁ*) . . . TS. KS. TB.

ApŚ.: *agnis te tvacaṁ* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.

agnis te tejo . . . AŚ. MŚ.: *agnis te tejo* . . . TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.

agnis te (TS. *agnis te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnis tvābhi (TS. *agnis tvā*°) *pātu* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnis tvā (TS. KS. *agnis tvā*) *śrīṇātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

agnis tvā (MS. *agnis tvā*) *hwayati* . . . TS. MS. KS. TB.

agnis tñān agre . . . MS.: *agnis tñān* (AV. *tān*, TS. TA. [but not KS.†])

agnis tñān *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA.

agneṣ tvā (KS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādāyāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

KŚ. MŚ.

agneṣ tvā (TS. KS. *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* . . . TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

agneṣ tvāsyena (TS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*°) . . . VS. VSK. TS. GB. ŚB. KB.

ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

aditiṣ te (TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. °tis te) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

KŚ. MŚ.

aditiṣ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. [but not MŚ.†]) *°tis tvā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

avatatya dhanuṣ tvam (TS. KS. NilarU. °nus tvam) VS. TS. MS. KS.

MŚ. NilarU.

gopāya mā (VāDh. *mām*) *śevadhis te* (N. °dhiṣ te) VāDh. ViDh. N.

tābhiṣ tvam (KS. TA. *tābhiṣ tvam*) *ubhayībhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* MS. KS. TA.

tebhiṣ tvam putram janaya ŚG.: *tais tvam putram (putrān) vindasva*

AV. ApMB.

dyaus tvā (ŚŚ. *dyaus te*) *pitā prthivī mātā* AV. ŚŚ.

prajāpatiṣ tvā sādāyatu . . . VS. ŚB. MS. MŚ.: *prajāpatis tvā sā*° . . .

TS. TB. TA. ApŚ. KS.

prajāpates tvā (MŚ. °teṣ tvā) *prāṇena* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

prabhos te (SV. °bhoṣ te) *†sataḥ* . . . RV. SV.

bahis te (AV. KS. *bahiṣ te*) *astu* . . . AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.

bṛhaspateṣ tvā (TS. TB. °tes tvā) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (TS. KS. ApŚ. °tis tvā) *sumne* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (SMB. HG. °tis tvā) *niyunaktu* . . . AG. ŚG. SMB. HG. MG.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (TA. °tis tvā) *viśvair* . . . MS. TA.

brhaspatiṣ tvā (TS. ApŚ. °tis tvā) *sādayatu* . . . TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

brhaspatiṣ tvopasīdatu (TA. ApŚ. °tis tvā) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

manoṣ tvā . . . MS. KŚ. MŚ.: *manos tvā* . . . KS. TB. ApŚ.

varūtrīṣ tvā . . . VS. ŚB.: *varutrīṣ tvā* . . . KS.

vāyus tñān (MŚ. *tañ*, KS. *tñān*, TS. TA. *vāyus tān*) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA. MŚ.

vāyus te (TS. *vāyus te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS.

vāyus te (TS. *vāyus te*) *vājīn yuñ* TS. KSA.

vāyus tvābhipātu (TS. *vāyus tvā°*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

śivebhir arcibhiṣ tvam (TS. °bhis tvam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

savitus tvā (AG. ŚG. °tuṣ tvā) *prasava* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ. AG. ŚG.

svadhitis te (ŚG. °tiṣ te) *pitā* VS. ŚG. ApMB.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§959. Here the rules of the Prātiśākhya (RPr. 260 [4. 14] ff.; APr. 2. 62ff.; TPr. 8. 23-35; VPr. 3. 10f., 20ff., especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus: in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmānīya* and *jīhvāmūlīya*). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

§960. European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf. Macdonell 78. 2, c). Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmreḍita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmreḍita, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words; but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole āmreḍita noted is the following:

paruṣaḥ-paruṣas (KS. *paruṣas-paruṣas*, TS. TA. MahānU. *paruṣaḥ-paruṣaḥ*) *pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MahānU. Note that in the VS. and MS. schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases; and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the Prātiśākhya, namely: we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member. VPr. 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8. 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *ṣ* or *dh*, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*):

sādyaskrīś . . . ApMB.: *sadyahkrīś* . . . ŚG.

śociṣkeśam (MS.* *śociḥ*°) *purupriya* RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS.

upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇe (MS. *haviḥ*°, but p.p. *haviṣ*°) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.:
bhūyasi haviṣkaraṇa upahūtaḥ (TB.* °*tā*) TS. TB. ŚB.

āyukṛd āyuhpatnī . . . ApŚ.: *āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī* . . . AV.

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the Prātiśākhya, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittiriya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i> (dental)
RV.	7	9	3	12	
RV. school	5	12	1	2	
SV.	5	4	3	2	
SV. school	1	3	1	3	
AV.	4	7	1	8	
AV. school	0	4	0	1	
VS.	3	15	5	7	
VS. school	3	16	4	8	
TS.	21	2	2	4	
TS. school	24	7	16	6	2
MS.	6	15	10	5	1
MS. school	2	2	5	1	1
KS.	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i> (dental)
Total RV. school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV. school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV. school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS. school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS. school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS. school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS. school	45	98	38	57	3

1. The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964. Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas; the latter is nearly unanimous for *h*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f.), the following occur: *somaḥ* (SV. *somas*) *patī rayīṇām* RV. AV. SV.

sa no divā sa riṣaḥ (VS. MS. *riṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

śam nas (RV. *naḥ*) *karato aśvinā* RV. TB. ApŚ.

manyāśai śam ca nas (TS. *naḥ*) *kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

devīḥ (*daivīḥ*) *ṣaḍ . . . uru naḥ* (*ṇaḥ*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.: *trayīṣ ṣaḍ . . . uru ṭṇas kṛ°* KS.

uru kṣayāya nas (TS. *naḥ*) *kṛdhi* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

varivas (RV. °*vaḥ*) *kṛṇvan . . .* RV. SV.

ayaṁ no agnir varivas (TS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*) *kṛṇotu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

urvī rodasī varivas (TS. KS. °*vaḥ*) *kṛ°* TS. MS. KS.

divaḥ (VS. *divas*) *parjanyaḍ . . .* VS. TS. MS. KS.

divaḥ prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. MS.

divaḥ prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam VS. TS. KSA.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. Vait. Kauś.

divaḥ prṣṭham svar (*suvar*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *divas* etc. AV. VS. ŚB.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *prṣṭham adhi . . .* RV. SV.

divas (SV. *divaḥ*) *prṣṭhāny . . .* AV. SV.

divaḥ (RV. *divas*) *prṣṭham* (PB. °*the*) . . . RV. PB. TA. ApŚ.

abhi priyā divas padā (SV. *divaḥ kaviḥ*) RV. SV.

agne tvam sūktavāg . . . divas (TS. TB. *divaḥ*) *prthivyoḥ* TS. (fragment) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

- parameṣṭhī tvā sādāyatu divaḥ* (VS. ŚB. *divas*) *prṣṭhe* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
- śṛṇīhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.: *ṣṛṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV. Add to VV I §275.
- giriṇ na viśvatas* (SV. °*taḥ*) *prthuḥ* . . . RV. AV. SV.
- yathā naḥ śreyasas* (TS. °*saḥ*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.
- yathā no vasyasas* (TS. °*saḥ*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.
- viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah* (VS.† ŚB. PG.† °*bhyas*; MS. *daṇṣṭrābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS. TB. *pāta*, PG. *paripāhi* . . .) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG.
- yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. TS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.† 2. 17. 6e.
- mitrās* (RV. *mitraḥ*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV.
- prthivyāḥ sanṣṛcas* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °*caḥ*; VS. ŚB. *saṁsprṣas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.
- nānā hi vām devahitaṁ sadas* (TB. ApŚ. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.
- diva oṣadhayas* (TS. °*yaḥ*) *pari* RV. VS. TS. MS.
- ubhe ca no* (etc.) . . . *añhasaḥ* (MS. ŚB.† AŚ. °*sas*) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *añhasaḥ spātām*!; AŚ. text, *ṭañhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- indraḥ* (ŚŚ. *indras*) *patis* . . . AV. AA. ŚŚ.
- idāyās* (ApŚ. *idāyāḥ*) *padam* . . . AV. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. Vait. Kauś.
- apaḥ* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *apas*) *pinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Note the perverseness of the Tait. texts in reading *s*, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!
- agne trātar ṛtas* (SV. *ṛtaḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV.
- pūṣādhvanah* (VS. KS. ŚB. °*nas*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
- prāṇasya tvā* . . . *tanuwaḥ* (MS. *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS. TA.
- praitu brahmaṇas* (MŚ. °*ṇaḥ*) *patnī* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.
- ṣaṇ morvīr añhasas* (ŚŚ. °*saḥ*) *pāntu* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

2. The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The dominance of *ḥ* in the Tait. school is less marked; TS. itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors *ḥ*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS. alone shows *ṣ*; other texts *ḥ*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc. plur. of *nṛ*; the vowel *ṛ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf. §940 above):

hotā yakṣad uṣāsānaktā . . . nṛñḥ (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *patibhyo . . . MS. KS. TB.*
hotā yakṣan narāsaṅsaṁ nṛśastaṁ nṛñṣprañetram (TB. *nṛñḥ*^o) MS. TB.
nṛñḥ (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi . . . RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.*

§966. Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants; both times before a form of root *kṛ* (does the form *skṛ* exercise an influence here?):

supīppalā oṣadhīs (ApŚ. °*dhīḥ*) *kṛdhi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.
śam agnir agnibhis (RV. °*bhiḥ*) *karat* RV. TB. ApŚ.

§967. Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

dyauḥ (RV. *dyaus*) *pitāḥ prthivi mātā adhruk* RV. MS. TB.
dyauḥ pitā . . . TB. ApŚ.: *dyaus pitā . . . AV.*
dyauḥ prṣṭham prthivī śarīram ŚŚ. 10. 17. 4 (as two separate mantras):
dyauḥ prṣṭham antarikṣam . . . ŚB. KŚ.
upahūto dyaus (TB. ApŚ. *dyauḥ*) *pitā* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
upa mān dyaus (TB. ApŚ. *dyauḥ*) *pitā hṛyatām* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.
jyotiḥ (MS. LŚ. *jyotiḥ*) *paśyanta* (MS. °*tā*) *uttaram* RV. MS. KS. ChU. LŚ.

jyotiḥ (SV. °*tiḥ*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV. SV. KS.
yas tāni veda sa pituḥ (VS. and most mss. of AV. *pituḥ*) *pitāsāt* AV. VS.:
yas tā vijānāt sa pituḥ (TA. *savituh*) *pitāsāt* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tad veda savituh* (MahānU. *sa pituḥ*) *pitāsāt* TA. MahānU.
aḥam id dhi pituḥ (MG. *pituḥ*) *pari* RV. AV. SV. Vait. MG.
sa idhāno (KS. ms. *edh*^o, ed. emends) *vasuḥ* (MS. *vasuḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

haviḥ (HG. MG. *haviḥ*) *kṛṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam* (HG.† SMB.† °*ṇām*, MG. °*yam*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

yasya dvārā manuḥ (SV. *manuḥ*) *pitā* RV. SV.
mṛtyoḥ (VSK. °*yoḥ*) *pāhi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
citraḥ śiśuḥ (MS. *śiśuḥ*) *pari . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.*
āyoḥ patmane svāhā KS.: *āyoḥ patvane svāhā* ApŚ.

āviḥ (MS. *āviḥ*) *kṛṇuṣva daivyāny agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
apālām . . . triḥ (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pū*^o RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.
parṇe vo vasatiḥ (TS. MS. °*tiḥ*) *kṛtā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
nīḥ kravyādaṁ nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV. MS.: *niḥ kravyādaṁ sedha* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *niḥ kravyādam anīnaśāt* RV. AV. MG.

[*svāduṣ* (AV. °*duḥ*; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyam*
madhumān utāyam RV. AV. AB. ApŚ.]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *k* AND *p*

§968. Among the variants occur only three pādas belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form *svaḥpati*. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires *sva* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *ḥ*). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The pādas are:

yuvam hi sthaḥ svarpatī (SV. PB. *svaḥpatī*) RV. SV. PB.

dātṛasyāgne svarpatiḥ (SV. *svaḥpatiḥ*) RV. SV. KS.

svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe SV.: *svarpatiṁ yad īm vṛdhe* RV. AV.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *niṣṣahamāṇo* . . .; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣah*° in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write *h*. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his *Einleitung*, p. XII); the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS., and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also

retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has *ḥ*. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *ḥ*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

niḥṣahamāṇo (SV. *niṣṣa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph.

vakṣaḥsu (RV. *vakṣassu*; but Müller °*ḥsu*) *rukṃā upaśiśriyāṇāḥ* RV. MS. TB.

vardhanam puruniṣṣidhe (SV. °*niḥṣidhe*) RV. SV.

pṛtsutūrṣu śravassu (AV. and Müller's RV. °*ḥsu*) *ca* RV. AV.

vṛṣā na kruddhaḥ patayad rajassu (AV. and Müller's RV. °*ḥsv*) *ā* RV. AV.

haviṛ haviṣṣu vandyah (SV. *haviṣṣu* †*vandyah*) RV. SV.

kriyanta (TB. *priyā ta*) *ā barhiḥ* (KS.† TB. °*his*, but TB. Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

uto aranyāniḥ (TB. °*nis*, but Poona ed. °*niḥ*) *sāyam* RV. TB.

upa naḥ (KS.† TB. *nas*, but TB. Poona ed. *naḥ*) *sūnavo girah* RV. SV. VS. KS. TB.

idaṃ devānām idam u naḥ (KS. *idaṃ nas*) *saha* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

satyā eṣām (AG. *etā*) *āśiṣaḥ* (ApMB. °*ṣas*) *santu* . . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

FINAL S BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr. 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12. TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect; the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it. Apr. contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on Apr. 2. 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants *hotrā-vidah stomataṣṭāso* . . . AV. 18. 3. 47b, and *madhvaḥ ścotanty* . . . AV. 20. 88. 3d.

§973. None of the Prātiśākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9. 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

1. Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions; and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV. follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent: of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV. see above, §972. In TS., Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*; at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS. always prints *h*; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol. 1, p. XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ. and MG. cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG., p. xxxviii; it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandati* MŚ. 2. 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS. usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS., quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB. especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ. likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG. of the mantra *mā no hiṁsīḥ* (*hiṁsī*) *sthaviraṁ* . . ., with and without *h*; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS., MŚ., and MG. against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS. there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS., MŚ., MG., or KS., it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS. reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Müller's edition in every case reads *h*.—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded.—F. E.]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows:

pra tad viṣṇu (TB. Poona ed. *viṣṇuḥ*; AV.† *viṣṇu*; ŚŚ. [pratīka] †*pra tad viṣṇur iti*) *stavate* . . . RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. NrpU.

ya (ŚŚ. *yaḥ*) *strīṇām* . . . VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.

viṣṇo (TB. *viṣṇoḥ*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) 'śi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

viṣṇo (TB. *viṣṇoḥ*) *sthānam asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

saṁsrāvabhāgā (or, *saṁsrava*°; TB. °*bhāgāḥ*) *stheṣā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

huta (TB. *hutaḥ*) *stokaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

hotrāvida (AV. °*vidaḥ*, TB. °*ṛdha*, Poona ed. °*ṛdhaḥ*) *stomataṣṭāso* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.

viprca (TB. Poona ed. 1. 3. 3. 6. °*caḥ*) *stha* VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The same with *saṁprca* . . .

andha sthāndho . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambha* (ApŚ. *ambhaḥ*) *sthāmbho* . . . TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

ā na (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) *stuta* . . . RV. ŚŚ.

āyu stha ApŚ.: *āyuh stha* TB.

ṛtava (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

indravanta (AB. °*taḥ*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB. GB. Vait.

diva (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambha*° . . . VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

pra va (KB. ŚŚ. *vaḥ*) *spaḍ* . . . RV. KB. ŚŚ.

prokṣitā (TB. Conc. °*tā* and °*tāḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*tāḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

balavijñāya (SV. °*yaḥ*) *sthaviraḥ* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
brhadbhir vājai (TB. Poona ed. *vājaiḥ*) *sthavirebhir* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB.
brhaspati (TB. Conc. °*ti* and °*tiḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*tiḥ*) *stotram* VS.
 MS. KS. TB.

madhva (AV. °*vaḥ*) *ścotanty* . . . RV. AV.

mā no hiṁsīḥ (and, *hiṁsī*) *sthaviram* . . . ŚG. (both)

mānta (ApŚ. *māntaḥ*) *sthur* . . . RV. AV. AB. JB. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā na stena . . . RV. KS.: *mā va* (TB. Poona ed. *va* and *vaḥ*) *stena* . . .
 RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

yas te drapsa (ŚŚ. Vait. *drapsaḥ*; MŚ. *drapsa*) *skandati* . . . RV. VS. TS.
 KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MŚ. ŚŚ.

ye devā devasuva (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* . . . TS. TB.

vāyava (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MŚ. KS. GB. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

upāyava (TB. °*vaḥ*) *stha* TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

prāṇaḥ sthaḥ TB.: *prāṇa sthaḥ* ApŚ.

stokā (TB. Poona ed. *stokāḥ*) *ścotanti* . . . RV. MS. KS. AB. TB.

subhūtakṛta stha ApŚ.: *suhutakṛtaḥ stha* AŚ.

sūryatvacasa (TB. Poona ed. °*saḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

gira (ApŚ. *giraḥ*) *stomāsa īrate* RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

cakṣu (TB. *cakṣuḥ*) *sthaś* . . . TB. ApŚ.

cīta (TB. *cītaḥ*) *stha* TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

cīta (ApŚ. once out of four times, and TA. twice out of three times acc.
 to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed., *cītaḥ*) *stha pari*° . . .
 VS. TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. KŚ.

prati tvā diva (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB. Poona ed. †*vetu*) TS. TB.

[*triṇave †maruta* (Conc. °*taḥ* for VS.) *stutāḥ* (°*tam*) VS. MS. KS.]

[*dhruvam asi dhruvata* (Conc. °*taḥ* for ApMB.) *sthitam* ApMB. HG.]

2. Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākyas, require *ḥ*. In KS., just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant; again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS. as reading *visarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB.; see Winternitz's Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss. of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV.; see Whitney's note on Apr. 2. 86, and on his Translation of AV., 6. 121. 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB. and TA. show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS. which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ.) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata*, MS. 4. 2. 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic.

§979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz.: 1. KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB. alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text.—F. E.]

§980. The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikaraṇena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc.; Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 438ff.

medasaḥ (VSK. °*sa*) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . cakṣurdās (ApŚ. °*dā*) *śrotrādā . . . dyaurdās* (ApŚ. °*dā*) *svardāḥ . . .* KS. ApŚ.: *yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāḥ . . . cakṣurdāḥ śrotrādāḥ* MS.

saṁjñānam naḥ (TB. *na*, but Poona ed. *naḥ*) *sve*° . . . RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB.

ādityebhyaḥ preṣya . . . mahasvasarasya (MŚ. *mahaḥ sva*°) . . . ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s. v. *mahasvasara*.

avidahantaḥ (TB. °*ta*) *śrapayata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

uṣasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat ApŚ.: *uṣasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB. Conc., but Poona ed. as ApŚ.

jyog ajītā (MŚ. *jīvā*, SMB. *jūtā*, but Jørgensen *ajītā*) *ahatāḥ* (SMB. °*tā*) *syāma* TS. KS. MŚ. PG. SMB.

śrotrapāḥ (AŚ. °*pā*) *śrotram* . . . TS. MS. AB. AŚ.

svar (TS. ApŚ. *suvar*) *ṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* °*ma*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. (both)

stutaḥ (TB. *stuta*, but Poona ed. *stutaḥ*) *śravasyann* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB. *syonāḥ* (MS. °*nā*) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata* MS. ApŚ.

supāṇiḥ (TA. °*ṇi*, but Poona ed. °*ṇiḥ*; ŚŚ. *subāhuḥ*) *svaṅguriḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

cittiḥ (TA. °*ti*, but Poona ed. °*tiḥ*) *sruk* MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ.

paro martaḥ paraḥ (ApŚ. all mss., and TB. Conc. *para*, but TB. Poona ed. *paraḥ*) *svā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

pary āvarte duṣṭrapnyāt (KŚ. *duṣṭra*°, v. l. *duṣṭra*°) AV. KŚ. See Whitney's note on 6. 121. 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

duṣvapnyaṁ duritaṁ niḥ (AV. **ni*) *ṣvāsmat* AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss.

duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap*^o *duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥsvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU. Cf. preceding two.

aśloṇā (AV. comm. *aśro*^o) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aśloṇāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ* with v. l. *ōtā*) *svarge* AV. TA.

snuṣā sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text *ōnāḥ*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ. 'ham *asmi*) TB. AŚ. *sapatnāḥ*, nom. pl. masc. (!), seems to be intended in both.

INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhya (RPr. 318 (5. 1) ff., APr. 2. 96 ff., TPr. 6. 1 ff., VPr. 3. 58 ff.). The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7. In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel; TS. reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984). *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration: Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s*. In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV., but becomes common in the other Samhitās (Wackernagel I §205a); two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV. *s* (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds. Here the conditions are confused: the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV., but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207); accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV.) *ṣ*; but the reverse is also found (§987). Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompounded words; in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language; yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB. substituted for *s* of RV. (§988).

§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987:

vy astabhñā (VS. ŚB. *askabhñā*, MS. *aṣkabhnā*, KS. *aṣtabhnā*, TS. *askabhñād*, TA. *aṣtabhnād*) *rodasī* . . . RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

ād id dhotāraṃ ny asādayanta (TB. *aṣā°*) RV. VS. TB.

abhy aṣṭhām (TS. KS. ApŚ. *asthād*, MS. *asthām*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ TS. KS.: *tena devā vy aṣahanta śatrūn* AV. *yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadaḥ* (ŚŚ. *nyasadaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words *pṛtanāṣah* (*°ṣāh*, *°ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *°sah* etc. Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣah*, *bhūriṣah*, *abhīṣah* etc.—The only other case contains the TS. form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

saṃstup (TS. *saṣṭup*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ā vīraṃ pṛtanāṣaham (SV. *°saham*) RV. AV. SV.

tam agne pṛtanāṣaham (TS. *°saham*) RV. TS.

pṛtanāṣāhyāya (TB. *°sāhyāya*) *ca* RV. AV. VS. TB.

uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt (HG. *°sāham*) RVKh. HG.

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS. occurs the stem *ṛksama*, for *ṛksama* of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf. Wackernagel I p. 237, top):

jagatyā ṛksamam (TS. *ṛkṣamam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

ṛksamāc (TS. *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong. In GB. 1. 5. 25d, quoted in Conc. as *viskandham enaṃ vidhṛtaṃ prajāsu*, Gaastra reads *viṣkandham* . . . *viṣṛtaṃ* . . .

abhiṛvīro abhisatvā (KS. *°ṣatvā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV. MS.† KS. *sahojit*) RV. AV.

SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Many mss. of AV., followed by the comm. and SPP.'s ed., also read *abhiṣatvā*.

stotā me goṣakhā (SV. *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV. AV. SV.

pṛthivīśadam (MS. *pṛthivī°*; VS.† *°śadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS.† adds, *divisadam devasadam*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

deva savitaḥ susāvitram (ApŚ. *suṣāv°*) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

rayisthāno (AV. °*ṣṭhāno*) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV. AV.
suṣamiddho (RV. *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV. SV. PB. LŚ.
susamiddho (KS. TB. *suṣa*°) *vareṇyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.
susamiddham (TB. *suṣa*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.
suṣadam (ŚŚ. *susatyam*) *id gavām . . .* AV. ŚŚ.
ye triṣaptāḥ (MS. *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV. MS.
triṣaptāso (TB. *tris*°) *marutaḥ . . .* AV. TB.
utkūlanikūlebhyas triṣṭhinam VS.: *utkūlavikūlābhyām tristhinam* TB.
amba niṣpara (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. *nisvara*, MS. *nismara*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. In VS. ŚB. divide *niṣ-para*; the rest belong
 here.
somanetrebhyo . . . uparisadbhyo (VSK. °*ṣadbhyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.
ye devāḥ somanetrā uparisado (VSK. °*ṣado*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.: *ye*
devā upariṣado (KS.° *das*) . . . MS. KS.
vrajaṁ gacha gosthānam (VS. ŚB. TB. *goṣṭhānam*, but TB. Poona ed.
 °*sth*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.
kṛṣṇagrīvaḥ śitikakṣo 'ñjisakthas (MS. °*ṣakthas*) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS. MS.
añjisakthāya (KSA.† °*ṣakthāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.
duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥsvap-*
nahan duruṣvahā MahānU.

§987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the
 copula. In one or two of these *s* of RV. is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text:
druhaḥ pāśān (TS. KS. *pāśān*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS.
 KS.

apo su (MS. *ṣu*) *myakṣa . . .* RV. MS.

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction:
kṛdhī ṣv (TS. *sv*) *asmān . . .* RV. TS. MS. KS.
prati śma (SV. *sma*) *deva rīṣataḥ* (SV. *rī*°) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.
prati śma (AV. *sma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.
asti hi śmā (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣmīnn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS.
 KS. ŚB.

vayaṁ ghā te api śmasi (SV. *smasi*) RV. SV.
anupūrvam yatamānā yati ṣṭha (AV. *stha*) RV. AV.
divi ṣaṇ (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *saṇ*) *chakra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.
divi sad (RV. *ṣad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV. SV. VS.
ūtī ṣa (SV. *sa*) *bṛhato divaḥ* RV. SV.
pari śya suvāno akṣāḥ RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya*
suvāno avyayam RV.

tasmād āpo anu ṣṭhana (TS. *sthana*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

§988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-

pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces § where RV. has s:

trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇy (TB. *ṣa°*) *agnim* RV. VS. TB.

ye apsu śadāṇsi (KS. *'psu sadāṇsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS.: *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh.

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *ṛbhiḥ śtutasya* (KS. *ṛbhis stu°*, TS. PB. *ṛbhiḥ sutasya*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. The mss. of MS. read *ṛbhi*, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to *ṛbhiḥ*; but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event.

pari bhrātuḥ pari śvasuḥ HG. ApMB.: *pari mātuḥ pari svasuḥ* PG.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ. *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK. *°nām juṣāṇaḥ*, KS. *ṣtokānām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS.† 3. 6 (with *ṭve*, not *veṣ*).

SECONDARY CRISIS, AND HIATUS

§989. Secondary crisis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG., which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

dhruvā strī patikule iyam (MG. *°kuleyam*) SMB. MG. In SMB., also, the v. l. *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus).

uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām (AV. *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māḥ*) *oṣ°*; this is supported by Ppp., cf. Whitney's note and Barret, *JAOS* 35. 50 f. *viśvādityāḥ* [pratīka] MG. This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG. text *ṭviśve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (MG. *sarve*) AG. PG. MG. All mss. of MG. (in the pratīka) read *viśvād°*.

sahasradhāre 'va (AV. *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for *°dhārāḥ*, with double sandhi. The RV. p.p. reads *°dhāre, ava*. Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure.

anāmayaiddhi etc., see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

ado ma āgachatu ApŚ.: *ado māgachatu* MS. KS. MŚ. (not ApŚ. which in 4. 13. 8 reads †*ma āga*^o)—In ApŚ. *me*, in the others *mā*.

māgadhaḥ puñscalī kīṭavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrahmaṇās (VSK. . . 'śūdrā-brāhmaṇās) *te prajāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS., a compound in VSK. So also in the following; cf. the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here.

aśloṇā (AV. comm. *aśro*^o) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aśloṇāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1. *°tā*) *svarge* AV. TA. 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs'. Cf. preceding.

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS.: *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB. Different genders; fem. in VS., masc. in TB.

saha ojaḥ (VS. *sahaujaḥ*; VSK. *sahojaḥ*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. In VS. VSK. *saha* plus *ojaḥ* (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others, *sahas* plus *ojaḥ*. The latter form is probably original.

yathaika ṛṣir (KS. *°karṣir*) *viṇāte* KS. TA. ApŚ. See §919, end.

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. Serpents are referred to: 'who are missiles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS. makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' . . . (correlative with the following, which see). But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *iṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis.

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi: or they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular; in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

uta śravasā (MS. *śravasa ā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA. The p.p. of MS. reads *śravasaḥ, ā*; but both meter and sense show that the MS. has a stupid blunder.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

vasneva (KS. *vasna iva*) *vikrīṇāvahai* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom.-acc. plur. of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS. p.p.), rather

than *vasna*. We have, then, in KS. perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in *ā-r* = RV. etc. *a-r*; cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than *r*. Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS. in the preceding. Cf. the next. *sapatnā vācam manasā* (AŚ. °*sa*) *upāsātām* TB. AŚ. 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion. See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc., §357.

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations. It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

bhūyo vā ataḥ somo rājārhati (MŚ. *rājā arhati*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss. read thus for MŚ.; Knauer suggests *pluti*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ. it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda.

pavasva deva āyusak (RV. *devāyusak*) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (*devā*) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

pāpmānam uta vāgham (SMB. *vā agham*) SMB. ApMB. HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons.

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS.: *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV. the meter is improved without fusion.

tatra indro brhaspatiḥ VS.: *tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatiḥ* RV. SV. Hiatus *metri gratia* in VS.

tan mā (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatām punaḥ* GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh. 5. 508). In GB. (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements. But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

san tvā riṇanti (Vait. *rṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. The hiatus in Vait. may be connected with pronunciation of *r* as *ri*, see §676.

punantu ṛṣayaḥ TA. MahānU. Hiatus in both forms.

daivyā hotārāgna (MS. °*gnā*, ŚŚ. *hotārā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Probably ŚŚ. stands for *hotārā*, not °*rāu*, and therefore has hiatus; see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °*rāv* in ŚŚ.

achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuḥ TS.: *achidrośijah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuḥ* (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achidrā* went with *padā* as in KS.; but TS. p.p. *achidrāḥ*, with *uśijah*, and so comm.

abhīm (SV. *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV. Cf. *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛṣṭasya*) *sudughā ghr̥taścutaḥ* RV. SV. On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309.

pitṛbhyah svadhāstu (MahānU. *svadhā astu*) TA. MahānU.

§993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait. texts, and according to TS. p.p. and TPr. 5. 2, 10. 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*:

māsi MS. MŚ.: *mā asi* TA. ApŚ. Likewise (in MS. TA.) *pramā*, *unmā*, *vimā*, *sañmā*, *pratimā*.

sahasrasya pramāsi (TS. *°mā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*.

§994. The next is different in character:

manāsi (KS. *manā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS. it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom. *manā's*). In the others it becomes an *ā* stem.

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

pītaraś ca upāsate (VS. *copā°*) RVKh. VS. The hiatus improves the meter; but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place.

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. *medhāpsaraḥsu*) RVKh. MG. The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss. read *medhā aps°* in MG.; and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps°* in RVKh. without report of variant; he also reads *°psarassu*.

devā brahmāṇa āgachata āgachata GB., Conc.: *de° bra° āgachatāgachataḥ* LŚ. But Gastra reads for GB. *āgachatāgachata*; he notes a v. l. *āgachatā āga°*.

vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā (AV. *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV. AV. So the mss. of AV., leaving *sakha* unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed. reads *sākhā ā'*. It seems at least possible that the AV. mss. correctly

present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sákhā'* (fusion of *sákhā* and *ā'*).

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

semām (AV. *sa imām*) *no havyadātīm juṣāṇaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

KSA. Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV. should probably be read *sa imām*.

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle *u*.

sa imām (ŚG. *semām*) *devaḥ pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varuṇaḥ*) ŚG. AG. SMB.

soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir (PG. *sauṣa°*) *āyusmān* TS. KS. PG. ApMB.

This passage is prose. PG. is hyper-archaizing.

INDEXES

INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note.—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here; but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.

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SANSKRIT INDEX

Note.—Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.): with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences.—In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for.' References are to sections.

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